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# Latin America Report

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22 February 1983

## LATIN AMERICA REPORT

No. 2647

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## CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE TO REVIEW OIL NATIONALIZATION LAW

Caracas EL DIARIO DE CARACAS in Spanish 10 Jan 83 p 5

[Text] During the recess from regular congressional sessions, which will last until March, a committee has been empowered to study the status of the nation's oil industry.

The special committee is chaired by MAS [Movement for Socialism] Deputy Freddy Munoz. It has already completed one of its tasks, in connection with the bill to amend the Central Bank of Venezuela Law. The bill was not passed during the extension of the regular session in December and is still before the Chamber of Deputies.

Munoz has now reported that the ad hoc committee will make public its approval of an amendment to the Petroleum Nationalization Law concerning the "untouchability" of the bolivar funds that the industry accumulated from 1976 to 1981.

The committee will also devote its immediate attention to an issue that had been tabled until now and that was brought up by Democratic Action. It has to do with amending the Nationalization Law itself, under which the profits of the operating companies cannot be distributed in the form of dividends.

Another pending item on the committee's agenda since December is its call for testimony from the president of Petroven, Rafael Alfonzo Ravard, Energy Minister Humberto Calderon Berti and Finance Minister Humberto Sosa in connection with the Executive Branch's sale of 7.5 billion bolivars in national debt bonds to Petroven.

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## OIL PRODUCTION FIGURES ANALYZED

Caracas EL DIARIO DE CARACAS in Spanish 14 Jan 83 p 41

[Article by Anibal R. Martinez: "Production Goal Surpassed?"]

[Text] Did last year's oil production surpass its goals?

First President Herrera and then several ministers said so on various occasions in reporting to the nation.

Is this true?

Oil production in 1982 had clear-cut characteristics in each of the year's quarters, adjusting to the external circumstances that dictate or influence the actions of the Venezuelan oil industry.

During the first quarter, in order to conform to the budget projection of 350,000 cubic meters a day, average extraction was kept as high as possible, 296,000 cubic meters a day. Significantly, as of 22 March oil output began to rise, reaching 370,000 cubic meters a day on 31 March. The members of OPEC were notified in advance of the move, as Venezuela succeeded in squeezing as much as it could from our dwindling but noble deposits of medium and light crudes.

The international collapse came with the first meeting last year of the OPEC Conference. The agreement among the members set a production ceiling of 238,500 cubic meters a day for Venezuela. Petroven handed the Finance Ministry the revised goal of just 290,000 cubic meters a day, a cut of 59,800 cubic meters a day (which comes to 27 percent of the original amount). Therefore, during the second quarter of 1982 oil output was in strict compliance with the agreement, averaging 240,000 cubic meters a day.

Third quarter 1982 production rose from the low point in the second quarter to beyond the first quarter level, averaging 310,000 cubic meters a day. The reason for the switch is to be found in the Venezuelan president's interpretation of the OPEC agreement: that it had a life of 3 months, the second quarter in other words (The Venezuelan Government's view was not shared by several member countries, which indicated that the output cutback was supposed to last the entire year).

During the fourth quarter of last year output rose even higher, settling at 353,000 cubic meters a day, for two reasons. In the first place, as we could see from the reassessment of the Central Bank's gold reserves and from the appropriation of Petroven's foreign currency funds, the nation's financial position was delicate, with major national debt liabilities falling due. It was therefore urgent to make as much money as possible from international oil sales. Secondly, in spite of the self-serving interpretation of OPEC's oil quota agreement, output would have to be apportioned again at the end of the year. Hence, it was in Venezuela's interest to come to Vienna in December with as high an output level as possible, even if 47 percent above its assigned quota (It bears noting in this regard that the frenzied production pace probably somewhat exceeded the limits of a prudent management of subsoil deposits, in accordance with customary oil field practices and engineering technology).

After all of these ups and downs, production for the entire year averaged 301,000 cubic meters a day.

Comparisons are easily made. Production fell short of the original goal (301,000 as against 350,000 cubic meters a day, 49,000 or 14 percent under), but met "and even exceeded" the revised goal (290,000) by 11,000 of 4 percent.

Which comparison do you readers prefer?

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## PDVSA APPROVES TEMPORARY INVESTMENT BUDGET

Caracas EL DIARIO DE CARACAS in Spanish 10 Jan 83 p 24

[Article by Jose Suarez-Nunez]

[Text] On 29 December 1982, PDVSA [Venezuelan Petroleum, Inc] approved a temporary, 3-month budget (to March 1983) for the first time in its history, with an eye towards developments on the world oil market.

The annual investment budget of 17 billion bolivars has been significantly cut back, as 5.6 billion in 1982 appropriations have had to be canceled. The PDVSA investment budget will thus be 11.319 billion bolivars.

PDVSA's 1982 investment budget totaled 15 billion.

## Uncertain Outlook

In addition to having a 3-month budget by virtue of an insufficiency of revenues that is becoming long-term, the operating companies received instructions to confirm during this period whether their projects were commercially viable (so that originally planned investments could be carried forward) or could be scaled back in light of the uncertain outlook for oil prices and sales.

This situation has really thrown the industry into an upheaval, said an oil company source, because whereas it was accustomed to projecting scenarios 5, 10 and 20 years into the future, it can no longer do so inasmuch as the funds that had been accumulating interest on international money markets evaporated with the transfer to the Bank of Venezuela.

The difficulties on the oil market in 1982 have exerted a major influence on the magnitudes of the petroleum industry, Calderon Berti said, referring to the conclusions of the 29 December 1982 stockholders meeting.

## Business Worried

On that date Calderon Berti confirmed EL DIARIO DE CARACAS' 11 December report that the "Cerro Negro" programs in the Orinoco oil belt would be reassessed. Calderon stated: "With regard to the DSMA [Development of Southern Monagas and Anzoategui], it bears noting that the program



is being reassessed at the moment, in light of the prevailing conditions on the world oil market and the emergence of other, more economically advantageous oil development options."

In the meantime, some goods and services businesses are holding meetings, attended by the Engineers Association, the Venezuelan Association of Consulting Engineers, the Venezuelan Chamber of Construction, the Association of Metallurgical and Mining Industrialists and the Petroleum Chamber, to assess the cut in investments and the job losses that it might cause.

These business sectors are worried that neither the industry nor the national government have clarified how large the cuts will be in 1983 programs and in future projects up to 1988, when 100,000 barrels a day of enhanced 34 degree API crude from "Cerro Negro" are supposed to be ready for the market.

Oil union circles are also worried. Yesterday, Carlos Pinerua, the president of FEDEPETROL [Petroleum Workers Federation], stated that the projects would be pared back 40 percent. Organized labor had been told last year that the development of the Orinoco oil belt and other projects would provide jobs for between 16,000 and 18,000 workers during peak periods.

#### No Consensus

The agreement that was in the works to lend political continuity to oil industry programs has apparently gone up in smoke. If a consensus oil policy is not developed, the industry could be subjected to the fluctuations of party politics, which could adversely affect the continuity of its programs and projects.

Opposition political sources said that the administration was not pushing for an oil consensus at present because the most ambitious projects have been canceled for lack of funds. "There is nothing to agree on because there is no money," they pointed out.

#### Offshore Programs

The DSMA project had raised major expectations. An experimental stage would have been concluded sometime after 1988, when the enormous reserves of heavy and extraheavy crude would have been developed.

The goods and services sectors that supply the oil industry reacted with concern. They did not know officially what was to become of the offshore programs that held great promise for uncovering light crude and natural gas deposits.

Suppliers, organized labor and the economy have been hurt by the cancellation of Maraven's CPR [Refining Pattern Change] project and by the scaling back of the MRM [Meneven Refinery Modernization] program.

Exploration activity is another of the unknown quantities. For the last 5 years before the nationalization it was at a standstill. Starting in 1977, PDVSA made a major push, mainly over the past 2 years, to expand crude oil reserves.

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## BRIEFS

CONSTRUCTION OF CRYOGEN PLANT--Meneven has begun construction of the eastern cryogen complex in Anzoategui State. It will process 800 million cubic feet of natural gas a day (with an energy value equivalent to 160,000 barrels a day of crude oil) to produce about 60,000 barrels of liquified natural gas. With more than 40 years of experience in handling natural gas and its derivatives, Meneven is undertaking the cryogen project to make fuller use of natural gas in industry and in homes and as a raw material for petrochemicals. In addition, this complex will furnish the basic inputs for modifying the Meneven refinery in Puerto La Cruz and will provide extra amounts of natural gasoline. The construction of the cryogen complex is already under way with an extraction plant in San Joaquín, a fractionator in Jose, a network of multipurpose pipelines, as well as storage and shipping facilities. [Text] [Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 14 Jan 83 p D-11] 8743

CSO: 3348/182

TALKS ON SHARING POLISH STATION IN ANTARCTIC HELD

PY290127 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 28 Jan 83 p 10

[Article by O ESTADO correspondent Assis Mendonca]

[Excerpts] Punta Arenas--The Brazilian government has been holding talks with Poland in order to use a Polish scientific station to conduct the first research work in that continent beginning next summer. The agreement will be signed in July or August when the head of the Polish scientific mission in the Antarctic will go to Sao Paulo to attend a seminar on planning the second Brazilian expedition to the Antarctic.

The report has been confirmed by Capt Fernando Pastor, commander of the ship Barao Do Teffe, and by Eugenio Neiva, coordinator of the first Brazilian expedition to the Antarctic.

Due to the economic crisis it has been experiencing, Poland has been experiencing difficulties in maintaining its station in the Antarctic, having been reduced from 20 to 9 the number of researches in the station. Since Brazil has also been experiencing serious financial problems--which could jeopardize in the short term the installation of a station in the southern continent--the two countries have been studying the possibility of sharing the Arctowsky station, each country having to supply half of both the scientists and maintenance costs. The station already has the required infrastructural facilities for research.

CSO: 3342/60

## PDT-PTB MERGER ORGANIZER VIEWS UNION, LEADERSHIP, POSITIONS

Sao Paulo VISA0 in Portuguese 10 Jan 83 pp 22-24

[Interview with Federal Deputy Jose Colagrossi; date and place not given]

[Text] He was cassated without anyone ever knowing the reason why; he returned to politics in a small party in which few believed and he became the federal deputy with the third highest number of votes in the state of Rio, with very good possibilities of becoming the mayor of the capital of Rio. Jose Colagrossi, 150,000 votes, engineer by profession, politician by tradition (since the old days in which he was active in the National Students Union (UNE)); he is today one of the great organizers of the merger between the Democratic Labor Party (PDT), his party, and the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) of Ivette Vargas and Janio Quadros. A shrewd negotiator, good politician, he was with Ivette, smoothing over the last snags, shortly before his talk with Leonel Brizola (VISA0, 27 December 1982); and, having maintained good relations with the PTB leaders even during the sharp phase of dissension between the two parties, today he has become a vital cog in laborite negotiations.

In an exclusive interview with VISA0, Colagrossi says he is optimistic about laborite unity, praises Getulio Vargas, and explains the political proposals of the laborites. Among them are the total nationalization of health, credit and education.

VISA0: How is the merger going?

Colagrossi: I am convinced that merger now is feasible as personal problems are overcome. A good dialog is taking place between Brizola and Ivette. We cannot understand why there should be three parties today speaking of laborism in Brazil. I believe it is possible to reduce that number to two: the PDT and PTB have many more points of union than of difference. We have, above all, the same basic reference point: the banner of Getulio Vargas.

VISA0: And the Workers Party (PT) stays out?

Colagrossi: I do not believe in the admission of the PT. Lula went too far with workers demands. It is necessary to carry out grassroots work like we did in Rio De Janeiro. We succeeded in getting the people interested in the elections. Brizola captured the electorate's desire to participate; he excited the people. And the people promoted that victorious turnabout, a grassroots turnabout.

VISA0: There are those who say that the federal government is behind that turnabout?

Colagrossi: What federal government? What anything? The federal government did everything to elect Moreira Franco.

VISA0: What they say is that the federal government supported Brizola to divide the votes of Miro Teixeira....

Colagrossi: That is arrant nonsense. There are no facts, nothing concrete. Brizola won alone with his group of the PDT. His election was passionate. The people fell in love with Brizola and his politics.

VISA0: Once the PTB and PDT are merged, the new party will have two leaders: Brizola and Janio.

Colagrossi: It will not. Brizola is the governor-elect, his leadership is automatic. In any case, his relations with Janio are good. There is room for those two leaderships. And there is room for others: there are people like Faria Lima, an excellent leader, with a new message, a clean and consistent political past.

VISA0: It is not a problem of name, it is a problem of philosophy. What is the position of the laborites with regard to the ownership of the means of production?

Colagrossi: There is no consensus in the PDT. I speak for myself. There are certain areas that must be socialized. It is something that is imperative; it is very urgent to socialize medicine. The experience of socialized medicine is marvelous all over the world. We cannot understand how in Brazil, where the majority is very poor, we have the most capitalistic medicine there is.

VISA0: Did not the National Social Security Institute (INPS) fail?

Colagrossi: It failed because it turned to private clinics. Most of the work of the INPS is done on the basis of agreements with private clinics.

VISA0: But how did the INPS get to that point? Was it not because of the failure of socialized medicine?

Colagrossi: It was not the failure. It is that the two medicines cannot co-exist together. If you socialize everything; if you place all medicine under socialized medicine, the problems will disappear. The two together do not work. The government's medicine, with the difficulties of payment, is not going to achieve the efficiency of private medicine by any means.

VISA0: But would private medicine be banned?

Colagrossi: It is a personal point of view. But I believe that medicine, doctors, hospitals, everything should be the same for everybody, absolutely free.

VISA0: Including the rich?

Colagrossi: Including the rich. Medicine is only one. It is not fair for one child to die in the INPS queue while the rich one is operated on in Cleveland. The government must provide medical care for the whole population. And medicine should be exclusively public.

VISA0: But the private hospitals are more efficient than the public ones.

Colagrossi: That is a distortion of the system itself, which mixes public and private medicine. If medicine were completely socialized there would be a high standard of care for all. It is only a question of competence. Look, I do not believe that everything should be socialized but at least two sectors should be: education and medicine.

VISA0: Private education has an old history in Brazil. There are the religious...

Colagrossi: I was educated by the Jesuits and that is one of the big factors in the formation of my personality. But they would continue as educators. Except that instead of being paid by the students they will receive their monthly payments from the government.

VISA0: In your view, bureaucracy is not necessarily incompetent?

Colagrossi: It is not necessarily incompetent.

VISA0: What other sectors do you believe it is necessary to socialize?

Colagrossi: Credit, all of it should be official.

VISA0: And whoever was against the government would be crushed....

Colagrossi: Whoever is against the government does not have credit anywhere. If any business group sets itself up against the government, it will not have credit.

VISA0: But Antonio Ermirio criticized the government, Aluisio Alves conducted an opposition campaign in Rio Grande do Norte, Jayme Canet Junior led the opposition campaign. Are not all of them businessmen?

Colagrossi: I believe that if they really got to bother the government, they are not going to get credit anywhere. I do not know how far they really bother the government. And I believe that the action of the Central Bank on top of the banks has already nationalized the system. To officialize all credit would be a way of lowering interest rates. The banking system in Brazil is enriching 10 families. Why give them that privilege?

VISA0: In short, laborism proposes a mixed economy with a broad nationalized sector. Where does Juruna fit into that socialization?

Colagrossi: Juruna fits well in that context. His election is having repercussions throughout the world. It improved the country's image abroad; it showed the maturity of the people. It is the first time that an Indian has been

elected to congress. Not even in the United States has an Indian been elected. And Juruna lived under the purest socialism up to the age of 16; he did not pay for water, or rent, or woman, according to him. In short, he lived in socialism although he knows little of the socialism of the whites. But with his intelligence, I declare, he will be a great leader.

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CSO: 3242/56



## SEVEN NATIONS SELECTED AS FOCUS OF EXPORT EFFORT

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 19 Jan 83 p 27

[Text] Brasilia--The government has selected seven countries (Algeria, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Nigeria and Venezuela) in which it is going to concentrate efforts aimed at expanding exports in order to guarantee a trade balance surplus of \$6 billion, reliable official sources said yesterday. That plan of action goes into operation tomorrow, beginning with Algeria, for which the secretary general of the Ministry of Finance, Carlos Viacava, will be leaving as head of a mission of businessmen and experts from the federal area. The expectation is that they will conclude deals that will result in exports of \$400 to \$500 million with Algeria this year.

The Brazilian Government plans to sign bilateral trade agreements with the seven nations in an attempt to gain about \$3 billion in exports compared to what was sold in the foreign market during 1982 (\$20.175 billion) and thus achieve the target of \$23 billion. The official hope is to sell the seven countries this year \$4.8 to \$5 billion worth, compared to the approximately \$2.2 billion exported in 1982. Brazil imported about \$3.2 billion worth from the same seven countries last year. The manner of executing the program, which will also imply redirecting imports, especially oil, was defined at a meeting held last Friday in the Foreign Trade Department of the Bank of Brazil (CACEX) in Rio.

According to a government source, the projection of exporting almost \$3 billion more to those seven countries than last year, is based on the assumption that the other variables in Brazil's trade relations with the foreign market (prices, quantities and purchasing countries) will remain the same as in 1982, which was an "extremely bad" year. In addition to trying to increase exports to those seven countries by 120 percent, the government hopes to sell more this year also to other trade partners, especially those from the European Economic Community (EEC) and other industrialized nations. "In case we do not succeed in selling more to those countries, the seven-countries plan guarantees us the \$23 billion," he observed.

## Itinerary

Besides Viacava's trip to Algeria, the resumption of negotiations with Latin American countries is already scheduled for next week. CACEX director Benedito Moreira is going to Venezuela and Chile, and in early February the secretary

general of the Ministry of Finance is going to return to Africa, this time to continue the contacts that are taking place between the Brazilian Government and private enterprise and the authorities of Nigeria.

In Algeria, Viacava will continue the negotiations begun in April of last year by Finance Minister Ernane Galveas and will try to conclude an export package of goods and service of about \$400 to \$500 million for 1983. Four more government experts are included in the delegation--Tarcisio Marciano da Rocha, international adviser of the Ministry of Finance; Wando Borges, president of the Brazilian Urban Transit Company (EBTU); Carlos Altdorf of the Central Bank; and Narcisio de Carvalho of CACEX--and 10 businessmen with interests in those countries, representing the Mendes Junior, Gauranta and Rabelo construction companies and the Villares, Mangels, COBRAPE, INTERBRAS, PETROBRAS, MAFERSA and RIPASA companies.

When he was in Algeria last year, Galveas and a delegation of more than 70 businessmen began negotiations with the Algerian Government for the construction of 20,000 to 100,000 housing units, 29 tourist hotels and the country's Ministry of Finance building. At that time, negotiations were also begun for the sale of railroad cars, locomotives, tractors, trailers, tanks, refrigeration equipment and other heavy machinery. From those negotiations, the following are practically concluded: the sale of railroad cars by MAFERSA, which should sign a contract for \$300 million; and the construction of the Ministry of Finance building, by a consortium of Brazilian engineering companies. As a counterpart to those sales, Brazil will increase its purchases of Algerian oil. Last year, Brazil exported about \$130 million worth to Algeria and imported approximately \$200 million.

#### The Strategy

According to that expert, who participated in the Friday meeting in CACEX, in selecting Algeria, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Nigeria and Venezuela, the authorities indicated the prospect of regaining the same level of trade with them as that conducted in 1980 and 1981. "The idea is to do a little more than was done in 1981 because that way we will insure the differential of \$3 billion between what was exported last year and what we want to export this year," said the source.

Brazil exported \$3.676 billion worth to those seven country in 1981 and imported \$3.683 billion, resulting in a negative balance of \$7 million for the Brazilian account. In 1980, Brazil had a surplus of \$335 million because it exported \$2.73 billion and imported \$2.395 billion. Last year, however, according to CACEX figures up to November, Brazil's unfavorable balance increased to more than \$1 billion.

Bilateral Trade (in billion U.S. dollars)

Exports

<u>Countries:</u>	<u>Projected 1983</u>	<u>Jan-Nov 82</u>	<u>Jan-Dec 81</u>
Algeria	400/500	118	267
Argentina	1,000	606	880
Chile	600/700	258	640
Ecuador	200	61	68
Mexico	700	308	643
Nigeria	1,100	214	770
Venezuela	800	441	408
Total	4,000/5,000	2,006	3,676

Imports

Algeria	176	289
Argentina	520	586
Chile	292	305
Ecuador	202	24
Mexico	729	783
Nigeria	227	728
Venezuela	922	968
Total	3,068	3,683

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CSO: 3342/56

## LEGALIZATION OF PCB TO BE SOUGHT WHEN 'POLITICALLY OPPORTUNE'

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 18 Jan 83 p 5

[Text] The secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), Giocondo Dias, said yesterday that the party should request its legalization from the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) as soon as political conditions are favorable for that. He distributed a note to the press declaring that "the repression of the communists, opening up a possible witch-hunting process delays and complicates political normalization." In the afternoon, Giocondo Dias was questioned for more than 4 hours in the Federal Police Department in the inquiry that is investigating the attempt to reorganize the Brazilian Communist Party at a meeting held on 13 December 1982 in the center of Sao Paulo when all participants at the meeting were arrested.

The leader of the communists stated that the request for registration of the PCB will be made only when it is "politically opportune" and added that one purpose of the meeting at which 90 participants were arrested and indicted under the National Security Law was to discuss the question of legalization of the party. However, before discussion began, the police arrested everyone and apprehended the manifesto, the program and the statute of the party which were to be presented for discussion, according to the PCB secretary general.

Giocondo Dias declared also that the struggle of the communists will be for legalization of the party to seek socialism, in the interest of the working class, submitting to the legal rules. In a press conference granted in the office of Attorney Iberê Bandeira de Melo, Giocondo Dias preached a "Brazilian solution" to achieve socialism "different from the models of the Soviet Union, China, etc.", criticized the "narrow vision" of the former secretary general of the party, Luis Crolos Prestes, on the opposition front [and] made some predictions for this year.

In his opinion, in 1983, as a result of the economic measures that the country has been adopting and of subordination to the IMF, the Brazilian people are going to face more difficulties but he anticipated great profits for the bankers, especially the international bankers. He also believes that there will be an increase in the number of companies going into receivership, unemployment and difficulties for both the federal and state governments, but he believes that the process of political liberalization is irreversible because it has been imposed by Brazilian society.

As for the participation of the communists in the future state administration, he says he has no knowledge of that but said, "If we are offered positions, we will accept." Dias added, however, that the support of the communists is not unconditional. Attorney Ibere Bandeira de Melo believes that the case against his client will be pigeon-holed because "the communists are fighting for the legalization of the party and not for its reorganization because it was legally abolished a long time ago."

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CSO: 3342/56

## EMBRAER NEGOTIATES AIRCRAFT SALE TO LIBYA

Rio de Janeiro GAZETA MERCANTIL in Portuguese 6 Jan 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Norton Godoy]

[Text] Brasilia--The Brazilian Aeronautics Company (EMBRAER) is negotiating a contract with the Libyan Government which may result in plane sales of \$150 million. A Libyan mission, headed by the Air Defense Chief of Staff, Colonel Giuma Awad Idriss, and comprised of eight officers and representatives of the state oil company (BREGA) and of the Finance Ministry of that country, is in Sao Jose dos Campos (Sao Paulo).

In Sao Paulo yesterday, the management of EMBRAER told reporter Jose Casado that the negotiations with Libya "are in progress" and involve the supplying of military training planes, patrol planes and fighter planes.)

This is the second time a mission has come to Brazil--the military men arrived on 25 December. The same Colonel Awad Idriss began negotiations with EMBRAER in November last year. According to the acting chief of the Foreign Ministry's Trade Promotion Department, Minister Vilarinho Pedroso, the Libyan Government is interested in purchasing Tucano, Xingu and Bandeirante maritime patrol planes.

The Libyan proposal is to pay for this purchase with oil or, at least, the greater part of a possible contract. The fact is that, after the stabilization of the price of a barrel of oil, exporting countries such as Libya are facing cash difficulties and are no longer in a position to acquire certain imports with the payment of cash in dollars. But unlike previous negotiations between EMBRAER and Libya, today the negotiations are more difficult because the Libyan Government is more experienced.

Both businessmen and government officials who are following this type of negotiation recall that in the past, certain companies got to draw up all of the contract to be signed because the Libyans did not know anything about contracts.

In the negotiations now being conducted, the Brazilians feel that the Libyan mission is making agreement difficult, imposing unprecedented demands every day. In the meantime, there is great interest on the part of Libya, based on confirmation of the good quality and the competitive prices offered by the Brazilian manufacturer. The commercial-technical mission does not have a definite date to conclude this phase of negotiations. When they leave the country, the Libyans will go to Paris where they will discuss purchases in the same aeronautical area. At that time, only Libyan officers will comprise the mission

because the representatives of BREGA and of the Finance Ministry of that country will return to Tripoli. The Libyans probably plan to purchase the new Mirage-2000's in France since an undetermined number of those planes has just been purchased by Egypt.

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CSO: 3341/56

## BRIEFS

ARMY APPOINTMENTS--President Figueiredo has made the following appointments within the army: Gen Helio Pacheco has been appointed commander of the 8th military region headquartered in Belem; Gen Dalnio Teixeira Starling director of the army's communications and electronic material department; Gen Oswaldo Muniz Oliva director of the data processing department; Gen Eduardo Dorio Sa Fortes head of the records and evaluation [cadastró e avaliacao] department; Gen Manoel Theophilo de Oliveira Neto, commander of the 6th armored infantry brigade; Gen Decio Barbosa Machado, commander of the 6th army artillery division and Gen Ernani Jorge Correa, director of the social assistance department. [Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 26 Dec 82 PY] The following army appointments have been disclosed: Maj Gen Diogo de Oliveira Figueiredo has been transferred from the 3d division to the 1st division, which is currently headed by Maj Gen Geraldo de Araujo Ferreira who will now head the 1st military region headquartered in Rio de Janeiro. The 1st military region is currently headed by Maj Gen Mario Silva Oreilly who will be transferred to the general personnel department as deputy chief, a position currently held by Maj Gen Ivan Dentice Linhares who has been appointed commander of the 5th division headquartered in Salvador. Maj Gen Bersange Figueiredo Prates, current commander of the 6th division, will be transferred to head of the military service directorate, a post currently occupied by Maj Gen Democrito Correa, who will take over as head of the 3d military region. [Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 19 Jan 83 p 6 PY]

CSO: 3342/60



RESIDENCY PERMIT GRANTED TO EDEN PASTORA

Government Announcement

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 22 Dec 82 p 4A

[Text] The Migration Office, a branch of the Ministry of the Interior, has granted a residency permit to the dissident Sandinist commander, Eden Pastora Gomez.

The information was provided by the vice minister of that office, Enrique Chacon, who indicated that the Nicaraguan would be informed of the decision shortly. As for Pastora Gomez, he appeared to be extremely pleased with the manner in which his request was handled.

Reinstatement

The official explained that what the commander had requested was the reinstatement of his residency permit. "Pastora was in our country under tourist status, and he requested the reinstatement of his residency because his tourist visa was about to expire, and the problem had to be resolved in some manner," said Chacon.

He explained that "Commander Zero" applied for a residency permit several years ago. It was granted at that time and was valid for a long period of time until he became a naturalized citizen of Costa Rica.

"Once he had achieved that status, the permit was cancelled. Later, he opted for Nicaraguan citizenship. Now he has again applied for residency, and therefore a reinstatement was granted," explained the vice minister. He said that the investigation relating to the case did not create any major obstacles since the Migration Office already had most of the necessary information at its disposal.

In Search of Peace

According to Pastora, he applied for the permit in search of the peace and safety which the Costa Rican democracy offers and with which "I fully identify and I would be willing to die in order to prevent its destruction."

Chacon explained that the request had been made approximately 15 days previously.

Pastora indicated that he wanted "to live in peace at the side of my children and my wife. I will live with my wife, rear my children and live among my friends."

Pastora was asked his opinion of the reply given by the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] to the initiative presented to it by the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance [ARDE]. This referred to initiating dialogue for the purpose of strengthening peace in Nicaragua and Central America. The commanders rejected the proposal stating that they would not "deal with traitors."

"Their response surprised me," he commented. "It shows that not only have they lost the original Nicaraguan character that gave us the victory over Somoza, but they have also lost their senses."

#### Pastora's Promise

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 23 Dec 82 p 10A

[Text] Tuesday, in the office of the vice minister of the interior, attorney Enrique Chacon, Eden Pastora Gomez promised not to create problems for our government on the northern border.

Chacon said that he called Pastora, in addition to informing him of the authorization of his resident status, to explain that he must respect the legal code.

Chacon added that Pastora accepted the conditions and is willing to live quietly with his family. He added that if he undertakes any activity against the government in Managua, that such action will originate in a country other than Costa Rica.

9787

CSO: 3248/428

## PVP DENIES EXISTENCE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 29 Dec 82 p 10 A

[Text] A recent broadcast by Radio Havana to the effect that there are political prisoners in Costa Rica and a 30,000 man army, 5,000 of whom are former guards of the Somoza regime, was denied yesterday by Arnoldo Ferreto, a delegate of the Popular Vanguard of Puntarenas.

Ferreto referred to a recent statement by a group known as the "Mexican Committee for Solidarity with Political Prisoners in Costa Rica" in which the above accusations were made and which was repeated by Radio Havana.

He said that the report had created a "great furor here" and that "it contains false information that there is an army of 30,000 men which includes 5,000 former Somozist national guardsmen."

He stated, "The truth of the matter is that our party and I personally as a representative of the parliamentary sector of Popular Vanguard, have been denouncing the presence of small groups of counterrevolutionary Nicaraguans, some of whom are associated with the movement of the leader Eden Pastora and who are camped out at farms near the Nicaraguan border."

He stated however, that "It is positively untrue that there are 5,000 former national guardsmen in the Costa Rican Armed Forces." He also added, "The truth is that at present there are no political prisoners as such in our country besides those who have been accused of transporting weapons or taking part in planning or carrying out terrorist acts."

Nevertheless, Ferreto indicated that the prisoners "are being tried in the regular courts and the only charge that we have made regarding this matter involves the slowness with which the courts have tried the cases."

9787

CSO: 3248/428

## BRIEFS

IDB CREDITS--The IDB yesterday approved credits for Costa Rica totaling \$51.6 million. These credits will be used to increase agricultural production and to encourage exports. Of this amount \$26.6 million will be used in a program to increase agricultural productivity and will benefit approximately 40,000 farmers. The remaining \$25 million will be used to rehabilitate export industries. The loan will be repaid in 10 years at an annual interest rate of 10.5 percent. [PA020357 San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 21 Dec 82 p 12A PA]

TRADE FIGURES FOR 1982--According to Central Bank estimates, Costa Rica's industrial exports have dropped from \$325.9 million in 1981 to \$265.5 in 1982, for a net reduction of \$60 million. Apparently, the problem lies in sales to Central America, which dropped 29 percent in comparison to the 1981 level. However, it is worth noting that the declines in exports and imports were almost equal, the percentages being 29 and 30, respectively. [PA061639 San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 28 Dec 82 pp 1A, 6A PA]

IMMIGRATION PROHIBITIONS--Deputy Government Minister Enrique Chacon has reported that the entry of Iranians, Arabs, Iraqis, Chinese and Libyans has been prohibited until further notice. He added that this decision is based on the need to complete studies on the procedure that will be followed in the immigration of foreigners, particularly that of investors. [PA200018 San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 10 Jan 83 p 10-A PA]

DEBT TO FRANCE RESCHEDULED--A Costa Rican mission that left for France has succeeded in obtaining a rescheduling of the foreign debt. The principal of the debt to France, which totals \$350 million, and overdue interest of \$150 million, will be repaid over a period of 9 years with a 4-year grace period. The mission was composed of Finance Minister Federico Bargas; Carlos Manuel Castillo, executive president of the Central Bank; and (Rodolfo Silva), minister of the government Council for Economic Affairs. [PA140243 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 0100 GMT 12 Jan 83 PA]

FRG DEVELOPMENT BANK LOAN--Through Finance Minister Federico Bargas Peralta, the Costa Rican government has signed a \$184-million loan agreement with the FRG Development Bank. It will be used to import goods for the development of specific projects. [PA200016 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 1200 GMT 18 Jan 83 PA]

## VALDIVIA LOOKS AT VARIOUS FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

## Hope for Bolivia

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 47 25 Nov 82 pp 14-15

[Commentary by Elpidio Valdivia: "Bolivia - Genuine Encouraging Prospects"]

[Text] On 10 October, when an obscure officer, Guido Vildoso, turned over the presidency of Bolivia to Hernan Siles Suazo [as published], heeding a congressional resolution, the night of the long knives in that Andean country came to end.

Siles Suazo, head of the People's Democratic Union (UDP), a coalition described as "moderate leftist," which won the 1980 election, had not been able to take office because of the 189th military coup carried out at the time by Gen Luis Garcia Meza.

With its decision to hand the presidency over to Siles Suazo, the Bolivian Congress was satisfying, 2 years and 4 months later, the will expressed by the people at the polls, thwarted by the coup by a group of military men.

General Garcia Meza--as another Garcia (Marquez) would say--had no one to write to him, but he did have someone to place him in the presidency at Quemado Palace in the Bolivian capital: the Mafia.

The gentlemen of the Mafia, owners in Bolivia of lives and plantations, and of aviation companies formed to carry drugs out of the country, with influence throughout the military hierarchy, became the owners of the country in recent years.

It was they who arranged the coup that kept Siles Suazo from assuming the presidency and who appointed Luis Garcia Meza, an ambitious general without scruples, to head a regime that came to be a sort of administrator of the cocaine trade, which is worth \$1 billion a year.

In the international drug market, Bolivia is considered the leading supplier of coca leaves and cocaine paste refined primarily in Colombia.

Experts state that in 1980 alone, Bolivia exported some 78 tons of cocaine, of which 31 tons went to the United States, the world's largest market, with the greatest number of drug addicts.

One of the new Bolivian president's first statements was in opposition to the drug trade, and he says that he will fight it relentlessly, which means confronting powerful interests that are both national and international.

The state of bankruptcy and destitution in which Siles Suazo has found Bolivia has led to the adoption of a number of emergency measures to deal with the situation.

The economic plan submitted to Congress by Siles Suazo includes, among other things, control of the exchange rate and imports, adjustment of wages and prices, and nationalization of the Canadian multinational firm that supplies electric power to La Paz and the Oruro mining region.

The government has also decided to establish a sliding minimum wage and worker participation in management.

This has resulted in an increase in prices of some basic items, such as gasoline and public transportation, which has led to tension and unrest among some people and the threat of strikes protesting those measures.

It will not be easy for Siles Suazo to lift the highland country out of the hole in which it has been plunged by the military men, who have carried out 190 coups d'etat in 157 years of republican life.

Bolivia, with an area of 1,098,581 square kilometers and 5.5 million inhabitants, 54 percent of whom are Indians, with a high illiteracy rate and a mortality rate of 18 per 1,000 inhabitants (the highest on the continent), is, as a politician said a couple of years ago, "prostrate and shackled in dependence."

The Treasury lacks the funds even to pay the interest on the external debt, which is over \$4 billion.

The rate of inflation, according to experts, will soon reach 200 percent, and some pessimists assert that if the situation does not improve, it can reach 500 percent.

The Bolivian peso, which was at 25 to the dollar, fell to 200 per dollar.

Under these conditions, the assumption of office by Hernan Siles Suazo has been viewed by some international commentators as the end of a lengthy phase of military regimes that have brought the country to economic ruin and seriously damaged the image of the armed forces.

Often, meditating in his home in the San Jorge district in La Paz, Siles Suazo, who held the presidency from 1956 to 1960 after a persistent, unrelenting struggle against the military, thought about the 1952 revolution, the most significant political, economic and social event in the country's republican existence, according to the most outstanding Bolivian political leaders.

In 1956, when he assumed the presidency, Siles Suazo had to face serious economic problems.

The measures that he implemented, considering them the only possible choice, were resisted by workers' leaders, who said they had been imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In an interview he gave in 1979, Siles Suazo said that during that administration (1956-1960) he shared in the collective sacrifices, and neither he nor cabinet ministers and members of the armed forces ever received a salary exceeding \$100 a month.

That example of austerity, he said, was one of the factors that enabled him to finish out his term of office, although he was constantly troubled by conspiracies on the right and--as he said in that interview--by the childishness of the extreme left.

Siles Suazo is a man who has always believed that nothing can be done in Bolivia unless it has a reference point that upheaval in 1952.

The so-called revolution of 9 April of that year reaffirmed the objectives for which the fighters for independence had struggled, and it reflected the Bolivian spirit that had reawakened after the painful defeat in the Chaco War.

In 1952, nationalization of the mines was decreed, along with universal suffrage and agrarian reform, and, to support those measures, armed peasants' and workers' militias were organized and educational reform was planned.

The revolution was thwarted by its isolation, internal contradictions, and pressure from the imperialists intended to prevent and impede extension of the process.

Today the situation is different, but in some regards it is more complex and serious than it was then.

Siles Suazo himself has said that Bolivia's present economic/financial situation is 10 times worse than the one he had to face in 1956.

His initial measures are designed to revive the producing sector, improve buying power of wages, and "normalize" the financial system.

According to the minister of finance, Ernesto Aranibar, the government's economic plan consists of three sets of measures: achieving normalization and recovery of producing sectors, democratization of economic power, and restoration of the masses' buying power.

Such measures in themselves constitute the basic elements of a war economy that will attempt to distribute sacrifices so that the working classes will not be deeply affected. This does not mean that those working classes will be secure in an ivory tower, avoiding the reality facing the nation.

Among the basic factors that cannot be overlooked in analysis of the Bolivian situation at present is the attitude of the government in Washington, which since the outset has shown its desire to steer the new civilian government headed by Siles Suazo, questioning the presence of two communist ministers on the governing team, the result of the inclusion of the PCB [Bolivian Communist Party] in the coalition.

Siles Suazo is trying to open a new era in political/military relations and bring about a rapprochement between the military and the people, whom they should serve. A constructive act has been to begin his term by heading off possible military coups.

To achieve that, he has discharged and prosecuted the military leaders most closely linked with corruption, coups, and repression, replacing them with professionally oriented officers prepared to confine themselves to the role assigned them by the country's constitution: defending the independence, security and stability of the republic as well as the legally constituted government and sovereignty.

It is encouraging to see the return of Bolivia to democracy and its initial plans to strengthen its relations with all the countries in the world, under conditions of respect for ideological pluralism, defense of self-determination for the peoples and nonintervention, as Siles Suazo stated in his first speech, on 10 October.

To carry out those plans it will have to overcome hazards and traps placed in its path and originating both within and outside the country.

There is a factor that will have a decisive effect on that struggle: unity. Without it, the new process that is beginning, whose scope cannot be measured right now, runs the risk of being thwarted, as the revolution was thwarted in 1952, giving way to the 191st military coup.

All that notwithstanding, today Bolivia is a genuine encouraging prospect.

#### Brazilian Political Process

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 48 2 Dec 82 pp 14-15

[Commentary by Elpidio Valdivia: "Brazil - Prologue of a New Situation"]

[Text] The last general election in Brazil constitutes a significant new point of departure for that country and an event with undeniable hemispheric consequences, particularly in Latin America's Southern Cone.

It is enough to recall that Brazil has an area of 8,511,956 square kilometers, and, according to the 1977 census, its population was exceeding 112 million inhabitants.

In the polling that took place on 15 November, the results of which were learned last Saturday, the opposition parties received the largest number of votes and took over offices in the country's most important states.

According to the data, the government received 38 percent of the 50 million votes cast, whereas the four opposition organizations totaled 62 percent.

The government's Social Democratic Party (PDS) will have 12 of the 22 governors, while the opposition Brazilian Democratic Movement Party [as published]--which is seeking reform--held onto 9, and the Democratic Labor Party, 1, which had belonged to the Social Democratic leader Leonel Brizola.



The 10 states won by these 2 parties contain nearly half the country's electorate and 70 percent of the gross domestic product.

For example: the state of Sao Paulo alone has an economy that the Spanish agency EFE compared to that of Mexico or Argentina, while Rio de Janeiro is the second most important state and has a population of 11 million.

Moreover, it should be noted that the municipal governments in these states will also fall under the opposition's control, for people had to vote for the same party's candidates.

In the Chamber of Representatives, with 479 seats, the opposition obtained 245 and the government, 234, while in the Senate the reverse is true, for the former will control only 24 seats in comparison with 46 for the government.

However, the opposition parties will control the legislatures of the nation's 10 largest states.

The electoral college that will elect the country's new president in 1985 will be made up of some 685 members, and thus far it is believed that the government is sure of over half those seats.

When assessing the significance of the Brazilian election--the first since the military took power in 1964--some observers have recalled that election laws did not favor the opposition, for whereas a representative of the ruling party could be elected by 40,000 votes, the opposition needed 200,000.

However, according to the reported results, the opposition parties achieved the successes mentioned above plus the majority of the seats in the Chamber of Representatives.

The French news agency AFP expressed the opinion that although the 15 November election leaves a Brazil marked with the sign of continuity, "there is no doubt that the political scene was substantially altered."

It now seems clear, it went on, that a dialogue between the leaders of the 1964 military movement and the newly elected officials will be essential to insure the proper functioning of the country.

Offering a prediction, the Paris agency said, "Brazil will no longer be run by the almost absolute power of the political class that arose with the 1964 coup d'etat," and that this cannot help but affect other countries in Latin America.

In Madrid, the newspaper DIARIO-16 suggested that the Brazilian election will have a powerful effect on that country and on Latin America, especially on countries like Argentina and Chile.

The Soviet newspaper PRAVDA commented that "the results of the election in Brazil mean that in that country's domestic policy not a single important decision can be made any longer without the growing strength of the opposition being taken into account."

What has happened, the daily also said, is a very serious symptom that there is a prospect of democratization of this nation, one of the largest in South America.

One of the factors that has been stressed since the opposition victory in Brazil's leading regions is the future of relations between the armed forces and the now victorious political figures who before were their adversaries.

However, President Joao Figueiredo himself and the minister of the Navy, Adm Maximiano Fonseca, reiterated, when last week's results were reported, that all those elected in the 15 November election will be able to take office.

The same newspapers say that President Figueiredo boasts about having been the person responsible for the restoration of democracy, and his political opponents praised him for having permitted the staging of an election "after 18 years of successive military regimes."

The PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] is the leading opposition party, and, according to reports, it may intend to immediately sponsor an agreement among the four principal organizations on that side, with a view to the future presidential election.

Some people believe that this step toward unity will meet its first serious test when the new Congress convenes and the president and directors of the Chamber of Representatives have to be elected.

Regardless of the various considerations inspired by the recent election in Brazil, one fact seems clear: The situation in that country is developing in a democratic direction which is increasing the prospects of more of the same.

This event, along with the genuine encouraging prospect that arose recently in Bolivia, is contributing to the weakening of the positions of such cave-dwelling South American regimes as those in Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay, while also reducing the possibilities for alliance for the most right-wing, conservative, and aggressive groups on the continent.

If we add to these factors the strengthening of Latin-American self-awareness that sprang from the Malvinas Islands episode and the conflicts that the region's severe economic crisis is generating with Washington, we will have assembled a scenario in which militarist, adventurist plans are not exactly guaranteed success.

Brazil and its reawakening of democracy seem to confirm this.

Felipe Gonzalez, Latin America

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 51 23 Dec 82 pp 12-13

[Commentary by Elpidio Valdivia: "Spain - Felipe Gonzalez' Latin-American Vocation"]

[Text] The assumption of power in Spain by the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), headed by Seville attorney Felipe Gonzalez, marks a new stage in the turbulent and difficult history of that country which endured nearly a half-century of feudal immobility and graveyard-like peace during the Franco dictatorship.

The new head of the Spanish Government is one of the most charismatic leaders in the Second Socialist International, described by some as a "centrist radical" and an honest, sincere leader who does not hide his interest in and warm feelings for Latin America.

Felipe Gonzalez himself recently said, "In foreign policy, you have to set long-distance goals. In 20 years, if we socialists do well, Spain's future will be strongly linked with that of Latin America, and both of us will be important internationally."

But the road will not be an easy one. Powerful forces and interests are at work that place Spain within the framework of imperialist global strategy.

On 15 December, Felipe Gonzalez spent an hour and a half talking to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz at Moncloa Palace in Madrid.

Issues discussed included the situation in Central America and the Caribbean, U.S. bases in Spain, and the latter's entry into NATO.

Before Shultz' arrival, the Spanish leader had set forth his government's position, first, in a lengthy interview he had granted to the editor of the newspaper EL PAIS, Juan Luis Cebrian, and second, hours before the U.S. official arrived, when talking to reporters from that country.

Gonzalez' remarks can be summarized as indicating that a stable solution to the crisis in Central America is possible only with the participation of all parties, with none excluded.

This includes not only Central American countries plus Panama, but also Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, and other Andean Pact countries.

Also included are Caribbean countries and, of course, the United States. He said there are no loose pieces in this Central American puzzle.

During his interview with the editor of EL PAIS, Felipe was clear about certain matters.

He said, "The United States' interests are not only the subjective ones of a powerful country that wants to control a certain area with a view to its security" but "also objective strategic interests that involve the future of the Panama Canal."

According to the new head of the Spanish Government, Cuba should be included in that context.

"History has shown," he noted, "that the blockade of Cuba has benefitted no one."

To Felipe, the blockade of Cuba was an erroneous decision by the U.S. Government.

He thinks, and he said so to Cebrian, that now other paths are opening up and the occasion has arisen to change the direction of that strategy of total isolation, switching to one of compromise with Cuba in a program for peace and security in the region.

The drafting of the Torrijos-Carter treaties concerning the returning of sovereignty over the canal to Panama will provide the conditions for peace in the region, the PSOE leader said.

In response to a question about the role Spain can play in Latin America, he stated, "The biggest mistake committed in politics is to want to play a leading role at a time when you're not being asked to play a role at all."

He expressed his own readiness and that of the Spanish Government to cooperate in a program for peace, democracy and development in Latin America, country by country and as a whole.

Aside from the foregoing, which is what we could call Felipe Gonzalez' Latin-American vocation, Spain faces such international problems as relations with the United States, the decision to remain in NATO or leave it, entry into the European Economic Community, and Gibraltar.

Domestically, there are the persistence of the economic crisis, the increase in unemployment, which now exceeds 2 million, the lack of "models" for reference, and somewhat of a threat of a coup.

On 20 November, on the 7th anniversary of the death of Franco and the 46th anniversary of the shooting during the civil war of the founder of the Falange, Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, the ultra-right showed signs of life.

Some 3,000 Falangists, wearing their old paramilitary uniforms of shirt and beret, and with arm held high, attended a mass at the Basilica del Valle de los Caidos, some 40 kilometers from Madrid, where Franco is entombed.

There they restated their loyalty to the Caudillo and to the cause he represented.

With this display, the fascists are showing that their cause has not died and will not die easily.

Some people think that, in view of the debacle suffered by the political center in the last election, fascism, grouped around Fraga Iribarne in the Popular Alliance, may be the future alternative for power, prepared to take advantage of any mistake or weakness shown by the PSOE.

Many things are on trial in Spain today.

The people's vigor and strength induce us to be optimistic amid the difficulties hovering over the young Spanish democracy.

The ghosts of 1936 cannot materialize again.

For Latin America and its well-known political and economic problems, the rise to power of the new government headed by Felipe Gonzalez is encouraging, offering prospects of success for the programs for peace and constructive action being discussed in the region.

## FUNDORA DISCUSSES SOCIALIST QUALITY OF LIFE

Havana CUBA SOCIALISTA in Spanish No 4 Sep-Nov 82 pp 78-107

[Article by Orlando Fundora Lopez, an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party: "The Socialist Way of Life: a Response to the Challenge of the Future"; passages in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] On editing these notes on the socialist way of life and the intense ideological struggle that exists between the two world systems over this and other concepts like /standard of living, life style or quality of life/, an event comes to mind that reflects everything that qualitatively distinguishes our way of life from the bourgeois way of life.

We were witnesses to it in the summer of last year, 1981, when the violent eruption of the hemorrhagic dengue epidemic spread concern and anguish among families in this country. There can no longer be any doubt that this disease was criminally introduced into Cuba by the subversive agencies of American imperialism, thus creating a serious danger for the well-being and lives of our people, and especially of our children, who naturally ran the greatest risk. There was a point when over 11,000 new cases a day were reported. Under these circumstances Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, the supreme leader of the party, chief of state and of the government, placed himself personally in the forefront of the battle against the epidemic. Our doctors, our health personnel, thousands of workers and practically all the people launched a stubborn and tireless struggle which, for its heroism, humanity and sense of solidarity, might well merit literary fame. In it there was no lack of dramatic situations involving children whose lives were fought for and snatched from death thanks to the talent and indomitable spirit of the doctors who cared for them. No one who today walks down our streets or sees the schools filled with children can ever know how many of them are happily growing up solely because of that national effort. But Fidel did not head this mission from an office. He guided and mobilized all the elements. He formulated the strategy to deal with the epidemic. At all hours of the day, the night or at daybreak he visited the hospitals. Step by step, he followed the progress of children gravely ill whom he encountered on his tours. At the time the country was suffering from an acute shortage of hard currency, which today continues to plague us; however, he spared no sacrifice to acquire the funds that were necessary in the capitalist sector. Furthermore, Fidel worked to see to it that our health services would come out of the epidemic strengthened and improved. A plan was devised

to provide each children's hospital with an intensive therapy room and to install certain kinds of technically advanced equipment, like artificial kidneys for the treatment of children with chronic insufficiency of kidney function, in these hospitals. The revolutionary leader himself analyzed the problems and decided on many of these projects on the scene. This is what happened in the city of Havana, Habana, Granma, Santiago de Cuba and in other provinces throughout the country. On several occasions, when statistical and demographic criteria for the establishment of these services were being discussed, Fidel's essential argument was always: The most important thing is the degree of peace of mind it is going to provide the population with, the security and confidence families will feel on knowing that, if a child gets sick, if unfortunately a serious problem should arise, this care will be available to them.

I have here a concrete example of what the socialist way of life in practice means.

Its day-to-day significance is manifested in the fact that people in our society have stopped being solitary creatures. Of course, they may be more or less conscious of this reality and they may to a greater or lesser extent satisfy their material and spiritual needs, but there is no longer a wall of indifference between oneself and one's neighbor, and one is backed by the whole society. If your life is threatened by an illness, the country spares no resources to restore you to health. If you are facing the enemies of the revolution in a dangerous situation, you know that you are not alone and that your fellow countrymen will under no circumstances abandon you.

We can express this idea better with the words of "Che" Guevara: "It is not a matter of how many kilograms of meat one eats or how many times a year one may go for a stroll on the beach, nor how many pretty things that come from abroad can be bought with current wages. It is just the fact that the individual feels that he is leading a fuller life, that he is richer inside and has more responsibility. In our country the individual knows that the glorious age which it is his lot to live in is one of sacrifice; he is familiar with sacrifice. The first ones we got to know were in the Sierra Maestra and wherever we fought. After that, we got to know them throughout Cuba. Cuba is the vanguard of America and must make sacrifices because it occupies the leading position, because it is showing the masses of Latin America the way to complete freedom."<sup>1</sup>

Our people sense and live these realities. That is why 10 million Cubans prefer the country's way of life, with the limitations typical of the present, but also with its creative effort, its freedom, its dignity and its justice, to all the illusions of the pitiless Yankee imperialist society, notwithstanding the high level of material development achieved by it.

What interests us and is urgent for us members of the Cuban Communist Party, for all revolutionaries, is to acquire a deeper understanding of what the socialist way of life is and the opinions that are being voiced about this concept.

## The /Standard of Living/ and Its Pitfalls

The importance of the topic will be appreciated more if we say that in our era the whole fabric of anticommunism, all the theories and solemn dissertations of the capitalist ideologists, whether unmasked or not, exploit the central problem: the /way of life/. Both the liberal American theorists of the 1960's and the ultra-Right Simple Simons and schemers of today, including representatives of a broad range of political leanings and points of view, are trying to resolve these essential problems in terms of their interests: Which of the two world systems is in a position to ensure human beings a fuller, happier and more exalted existence? Which of the two is in keeping with the hopes for a better future?

Sometimes we fall into the trap of arguing with bourgeois ideologists on their own ground which they have chosen. This happens when the /standard of living/ in one system or the other is debated if we accept as premises the indicators that contemporary capitalism invented several decades ago to measure this /standard/.

For a whole era the spokesmen of the bourgeois system have equated the capitalist way of life, and most especially the /American way of life/ of the United States, with the category, /way of life/.

Thus it was a matter of absolutizing the quantitative, external and in many cases deceptive aspects of the free enterprise system in those countries more highly developed economically in order to demonstrate that it offered possibilities and results that were superior to those that socialism could offer. In the history of anticommunism this orientation colors a lengthy period and is still frequently manipulated by the defenders, lay-brothers and shamefaced apologists of the bourgeois system. It is based on the manipulation of specific parameters of a statistic nature, such as the gross national product, average per capita income, the number of private cars, the number of television sets, radios, washing machines and other items of long-term use which people own, the average number of inhabitants per doctor or dentist and many others. A basic axiom of this view is that any increment in the above-mentioned indices automatically means a higher /standard of living/, that is, a better /way of life/.

It does not take much examination to expose the positivist, utilitarian and pragmatic philosophical roots that nourish the sociological methodology on which this point of view rests.

The error of principle that invalidates any conclusion arrived at by this path is first of all based on the fact that the /standard of living/, thus viewed, provides us with a mechanical aggregate of detached parts, regarded, moreover, in an abstract way, not a dialectical and comprehensive understanding of a specific society seen in its interrelation and development.

It is the same fraud all the bourgeois theorists, cosmeticians of state monopolist capitalism, draw on when, in their theories of convergence, deideologization or single industrial society, they capriciously separate production

forces from production relations, magnify the social consequences of development of the former under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, try to ignore entirely the essential differences between socialism and capitalism, ignore the historic realities from which both systems started, remove them from their dynamism and prospects and in this way hope to demonstrate that the bourgeois system has regenerated itself in an evolutionary way and placed itself in the forefront of social progress.

Let us take but one example to illustrate how the dichotomy of quantitative and qualitative indices leads directly to distortion of reality.

According to the World Bank,<sup>2</sup> whose headquarters are in Washington, Cuba's /standard of living/ places twelfth among 23 Latin American and Caribbean countries in accordance with the per capita gross national product index, calculated naturally on the basis of the capitalist methodology, which does not include items such as education and health expenses in this indicator. Here statistical sophism has been multiplied. Thus Cuba, a country without unemployment, without illiteracy, without prostitution, without drugs, without gambling, without beggars, the country with the highest health standards on the continent, where all citizens participate in public consumption and no one goes hungry, a country of impressive industrial investments and a radical technical revolution in agriculture, a country of high and growing standards of education and culture, of broad revolutionary democracy, of exemplary peace and legality, where no citizen can be oppressed or deprived of his rights and his personal dignity, appears with a /standard of living/ lower than Latin American and Caribbean countries in which the immense majority of the population suffers from the scourges of hunger, backwardness and poverty, to say nothing of those in which the most unbridled terror and arbitrary exercise of power reign and millions of people do not even know how to read so that they can find out that such statistics exist.

Naturally we do not deny the significance of the economic category, /standard of living/, as an index that permits us to evaluate the degree to which the material demands and in part the spiritual needs of the population are satisfied.

No one can deny that wage levels, average per capita income, food consumption and industrial products, the housing situation, etc. constitute an important reflection of the life of the society and the improvement of the conditions under which it evolves.

But it is significant as an expression of something even more important which includes it and places its qualitative stamp on it, to wit: the socioeconomic system and the specific /way of life/ that is a consequence of it.

And when we invoke elements of the concept, /standard of living/, we must make a distinction in principle between socialism and capitalism.

When Cuba speaks, for example, of per capita consumption of calories or proteins, it is referring to real averages, effectively guaranteed by our social system; when some capitalist countries on this continent mention this indicator, they



include in it the privileged minorities that benefit from 80 percent of the national income and the great underprivileged majorities which scarcely attain and often remain below survival levels.

When Cuba reports that it has one doctor for every 600 inhabitants, it is not juggling figures; it is an incontrovertible fact supported by a medical care system — absolutely free — that extends to the most isolated parts of the country. When some Latin American bourgeois nations apply this indicator, they overlook the fact that often 60, 70 and even as much as 80 percent or more of the doctors are concentrated in the capitals and big cities, serving the well-to-do segments of the population and that millions of people are in reality deprived of the most elementary health care.

But there is another side of the problem which we must not leave unmentioned. When bourgeois propagandists, sociologists and statesmen have for decades attempted to present the /way of life/ as being synonymous with the categories of standard of living, gross national product or average per capita income, they have done so by exploiting the economic advantages the capitalist countries, which are at a higher level of economic development, have in their favor.

In fact there was a time when it was up to a certain point convenient for them to make quantitative comparisons with socialism. It was, for example, to the advantage of the United States, a country with several centuries of cumulative capitalist gains and experience behind it and which has benefited from the looting and exploitation of several continents, a country on which not a single shell fell during the two world wars and which emerged from the last one as an arbiter and universal policeman of the system, to compare its standard of living with that of the Soviet Union, ignoring the circumstances under which the latter began its development, the attacks it had to face right from the start, the unparalleled devastation the war against fascism inflicted on it — the liquidation of a third of its national heritage, the loss of 20 million of its people, 25 million homeless survivors — and the gigantic burden the cold war policy, the arms race and the nuclear blackmail which the imperialist Yankees imposed on it with the war scarcely over meant to it, not to mention the fact, moreover, that the USSR had to shoulder the selfless internationalist mission of helping the new people's democratic states of Eastern Europe in all areas.

#### A New Myth: the /Quality of Life/

Life, however, subjected this convenient scheme of things to a state of crisis. Up until approximately the 1960's, Western sociology defended the idea that the mere quantitative growth of these economic indicators would result in a more equitable distribution of income, a lessening of material inequalities, greater opportunities for democratic participation in public life and, in short, more just and satisfactory living conditions. The theory of people's capitalism, among others, derived sustenance from this claim.

Several factors forced them to revise this opinion. In the socialist countries material and spiritual well-being was unquestionably reaching a high level. New factors and tendencies were appearing in the ideological struggle.

It was a time of profound paradoxes. While it became impossible to hide socialism's economic, scientific and technical successes or to go on presenting to the world a crude caricature of the realities of that social system, the United States and its most highly industrialized capitalist allies were at the time going through a phase of rapid and sustained postwar economic expansion. Backed by the scientific-technical revolution, the unprecedented explosion of the mass communications media and the new technology in the domain of information and cultural affairs, impregnated with historic optimism and convinced that capitalism had found the appropriate formulas for accelerated development without crisis situations, the most astute imperialist ideologists set themselves the anticommunist mission in terms of a broader and more comprehensive dimension based on the supposition that the bourgeois system would have the strength to absorb socialism by means of a process of penetration, erosion and destruction of its political, moral and ideological bases.

Because of these factors and others that evolved in the capitalist world, the cleverest representatives of bourgeois social thinking abandoned the fetish of the standard of living and devoted their attention to not only quantitative elements, but also social indicators of a qualitative nature. It was precisely economist and sociologist John Kenneth Galbraith of the John F. Kennedy team who in his work, "The Affluent Society," for the first time coined the term, /quality of life/, to designate a society — American — that had, according to him, reached a phase of economic maturity that enabled it to guarantee the general well-being of the entire population.

The bourgeois ideologists who originated this term conceived of the /quality of life/ as an expression of the degree to which man's most complex needs, those that are difficult to measure numerically, were satisfied: ease at work and in the home, leisure and free time, communication and information, the standards of housing, education and health, among others. But this has been turned into a new idol of the argument for capitalism and an ideological weapon to attack socialism with, since in comparing both social systems they use the /quality of life/ as a symbol of the superiority of capitalism and a yardstick with which the cardinal differences between the two socioeconomic systems can be concealed or avoided.

This standard fitted perfectly into the aggregate of theories invoked to embellish capitalism, theories manufactured by W.W. Rostow, Z. Brzezinski, S. Huntington, R. Aron, D. Bell and others who during the 1960's violently erupted on the imperialist economic and sociologic literary scene.

It also suited the social democratic reformers. Since then, the /quality of life/ has been turned into a watchword of those parties that call on us to achieve a presumed "democratic socialism" without touching the socioeconomic bases of capitalism. For example, the organ of the Social Democratic Party of the Federal Republic of Germany, NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, periodically discusses these issues and in several speeches Willy Brandt has developed the idea that mankind needs certain sociolegal, moral and spiritual conditions which together constitute precisely what is referred to as the /quality of life/.

Of course, the goal is a "renovation" of the capitalist system, not its transformation.

The connection between this concept and capitalist propaganda is so obvious that, at the round table discussion devoted to this topic at the Eighth World Congress of Sociology held in Toronto in 1974, Prof H. Dreitzel of West Berlin quite rightly said that "the concept of the /quality of life/ is more of a political slogan than a sociological concept."

However, since the end of the 1960's bourgeois works that deal with the /quality of life/ have become more and more critical, pessimistic and bitter.

The rise in unemployment, inflation, the deterioration of living conditions, the economic recession, delinquency, drug consumption, the moral crisis of young people and the entire society, violence, environmental pollution and concern over energy problems have motivated a number of reflections which, although in many cases lacking in consistency and scientific rigor, nevertheless demonstrate the inextricable mess the capitalist system is in today.

Theorists have appeared who, often in tones of impotence, alarmism or exaggerated apocalypsis, explain how under capitalism simple industrial growth causes major destruction of the natural environment, higher population density and a ceaseless increase in delinquency, social problems, emotional tensions, illnesses, the moral alienation of the individual, the deterioration of urban life and, in short, a harder and more anguish-filled life.

West German Social Democratic politician E. Eppler's statements illustrate this situation: "We doubt whether wider and wider streets for a larger number of cars, bigger and bigger enterprises with a higher and higher consumption of energy, more and more expensive packaging for products of more and more doubtful value are of use to people... not to forget more and more people in an ever smaller world. We already understand what all this means: more pollution of the atmosphere, more and more unsightly dumps for domestic waste, more and more unbearable noise, less and less clean waters, more and more irritated people, an ever greater amount of toxic substances in organisms and more and more deaths on the highways."<sup>3</sup>

Another student of these problems, S. Mansholm, one of the so-called Club of Rome theorists, has declared: "Where is this frenzied growth race leading us? Are we perhaps happy? We reply: no. For four-fifths of the world's population acceleration of the growth rate means nothing. The disparity between the standards of living of the wealthy and the poor is increasing at the same rate that growth is."<sup>4</sup>

What Is /Way of Life/?

The ideological struggle that has begun with regard to these problems has firmly confronted the science of Marxist-Leninism with the need for thoroughly illuminating the content and scope of the concept, /way of life/, from a scientific standpoint, one foreign to the ambiguities of bourgeois ideas about the /quality of life/.

But this is not only — and perhaps not even primarily — a need that arises from the hot contest between socialism and its enemies. It is above all a problem that is produced by the very level attained by contemporary socialist

societies, which demands that we undertake to by means of an integral standard perfect all of their material and intellectual development in order to create conditions suitable for the many-sided development of the human personality and its free expression.

And why not say so? This is also a current issue, given the bitter experiences some socialist countries have had.

Students of the sociological and philosophical category of /way of life/ base their ideas on the following words of Marx and Engels in "The German Ideology": "The way in which people produce their means of livelihood above all depends on the very nature of the means of livelihood they encounter and which they try to reproduce. This form of production should not be considered solely in terms of the fact that it is a reproduction of the physical existence of individuals. It is rather a specific form of these individuals' activity, a specific way of expressing their lives, a specific /way of life/ for them. The way individuals express their lives is the way they are. Consequently, what they are coincides with their production, with /what/ they produce as well as with the way /in which/ they produce it. What individuals are, therefore, depends on the material conditions of their production."<sup>5</sup>

On the basis of this guiding idea, we can see that there are nuances, differences of opinion and also debatable points among different socialist thinkers when it comes to defining what /way of life/ means.

Setting aside these factors, which are precisely a reflection of the intense theoretical activity brought to bear on this topic, we may say that there is unanimous agreement on considering the /way of life/ to be composed of the aggregate of vital norms and activities as well as the means with which individuals, social groups or classes, or the society as a whole, under the conditions of a given socioeconomic system satisfy and develop their material and spiritual needs, that is, the activity of creating material and cultural goods, political and social activity, the activity of communication between people, activity in the domain of the family, activity in people's utilization of their leisure time, all these elements that do not appear to us to be isolated features but a single system endowed with organic integrity in which are reflected not only how the members of a society live and with what they occupy themselves but rather for what they live, with what goals and based on what scale of values.

The /way of life/ is, as is only natural, intimately related to the way in which material goods are produced. However, as Soviet academician Mikhail Rustkevich points out, the /way of life/ substantially differs from the form of production in several ways: "In the first place, as with any practical activity, people's way of life is not limited to the domain of production. It also comprises extraproduction activities, the fundamental features of life, culture, politics and customs. All the essential features of people's activity under specific historic conditions must be summed up in the concept of way of life. /Every socioeconomic system has a people's way of life peculiar to it that is qualitatively different for the different classes of the society."/<sup>6</sup>

Thus in the world of today there are two qualitatively different ways of life: the socialist and the bourgeois way of life.

Of course, there are similarities between the two of them, starting with the level of material and spiritual culture attained by mankind in our time. At first sight, if we judge them by the fact that people in one social system or another produce goods with similar kinds of machines, watch television and in general share the same tastes for fashion, it might seem that these similarities are much greater than they are. But this is only the formal, external aspect of the matter. What is important is the /content/ of a vital human activity. If we approach the problem from this angle, the contrast in terms of principles that exists between the two social systems is immediately evident.

Forms of activity particular to different individuals and social groups influence the socialist way of life, but the decisive role belongs to the working class, whose revolutionary and labor traditions, attitude toward the community, collective, solidary and internationalist feeling and, most especially, whose Marxist-Leninist ideology and greater disposition for organization and discipline pervade the fundamental trend of development of the socialist system and endow it with the stamp that is characteristic of the moral, political and cultural atmosphere of the new society.

The leader of the working class and standard-bearer of its revolutionary and scientific ideology, the communist party, is entrusted with the mission of serving as a governing core in the whole society's struggle to create and consolidate the socialist way of life.

This /way of life/ is in essence oriented toward the education and training of a new kind of person, one who has high communist ideals, is an active constructor of new relations among people and is endowed with collectivist habits and standards of behavior.

Inherent in the socialist way of life are the traditions, social psychology and historic and cultural characteristics of every people engaging in revolution. At the same time it combines them with the international features in terms of which the universal regularities of socialism are expressed. Lenin noted: "... all of mankind's economic, political and spiritual life is now becoming more and more international in nature under capitalism. Socialism will make it completely international."<sup>7</sup> Without any people's losing its own idiosyncracies, we may say that the trend of the socialist way of life is this: the gradual advancement and rapprochement of its common forms and characteristics.

Throughout its existence, capitalism has raised the central pillar of its /way of life/, the desire for profits, and has consequently forged an individualist morality, based on an anxious desire to consume goods, in everyone's struggle against everyone else and in terms of material and private interests.

This consumer mentality has been carried to the point of absurdity by the highly industrialized bourgeois societies. The alienation of human beings has reached unprecedented heights. Man has turned himself into a slave of fetishes and symbols. Objects, not his own personality and intelligence, decide on his

place in the society. Family relations are being prostituted and disintegrate. The cult of violence, bestiality, cruelty and vice is growing. Not without cause, there are many who compare this situation with the decadence and disintegration of the Roman Empire.

When we think that we live in a world where about 800 million people suffer from hunger or are seriously underfed, where there are almost 800 million illiterates, where 200 million children lack schools or cannot attend them, where 40,000 children die every day from ailments easily avoidable or curable, where there are over 1.1 billion unemployed, where about 1 billion people are inadequately housed, we can readily understand that mankind's problems can never be resolved by following the patterns of the capitalist way of life. More than a decadent life style, these patterns constitute a crime against the future of mankind.

#### The Socialist Idea of Well-Being

Socialism is called on to promote a new conception of well-being, a new model for an optimal correlation between the material and spiritual development of the society.

There can be no doubt that this is one of the most serious and decisive problems that confronts the revolutionary countries.

"Che" said: "To build communism, you have to build the new human being simultaneously with the material basis."<sup>8</sup>

And Fidel has stated: "In my judgment, the development of a communist society is something in which the growth of wealth and the material basis have to go hand in hand with conscience, because it may also happen that wealth increases while scruples diminish. It is very important for young to think about this and I'm sure that they have given it thought and I'm sure that they have asked themselves why I myself have given this so much thought, and I have often asked myself just that question and am convinced that it is not only wealth or development of the material basis that will create a conscience, not by a long shot. There are countries that are much wealthier than we are, some countries. I don't want to make comparisons of any kind; that is not proper behavior. But there are cases of revolutionary countries where wealth progressed more than conscience and then too came problems with counterrevolutions and things of that sort. Perhaps there can be a great deal of conscience without much wealth."<sup>9</sup>

As has been well noted, socialism lacks the chief sources that engender the selfishness and niggardly conscience of the petty bourgeois: private property and class conflict.

But socialism is still a phase of communist society with definite limitations. In certain ways bourgeois law prevails because equal standards are applied to people with unequal opportunities. The distribution [of the wealth] still cannot correspond to need, but to what each person contributes: One is paid according to the work one performs. There is the direct material interest of

the producers and individual and collective economic incentives are widely utilized. And on this basis, if the growth of material well-being is not preceded, accompanied and reinforced by a priority-assigned increase in attention to cultural and ideological needs, the individual's sphere of interest could be reduced, greed and receptivity to capitalist schemes and models could develop and, as a result, a spiritually and morally empty human being might be obtained.

This very clearly means: Merely raising the /standard of living/ is not enough to bring us closer to the socialist way of life.

As an objective of socialism, well-being cannot consist of copying the capitalist consumer society with its senseless squandering of resources. The goal of socialism is to benefit mankind. But this is not an abstraction. We are referring to a real kind of person, who has interests and needs, who requires food, clothing, shoes and shelter, who wants an education and health care for himself and his children, who reads, enjoys and participates in the arts, who demands information, recreation, sports and the full utilization of his leisure time. Socialist well-being has to be sought in the systematic, growing and harmonious satisfaction of these needs.

Some Marxist-Leninist authors note the following points as principles of the socialist concept of well-being:<sup>10</sup>

To guarantee everyone the opportunity to work in the field most suited to his tastes and inclinations (in accordance with the realities and needs of our society).

To see to it that the size of every person's income is in keeping with the amount and quality of the work provided.

To ban the utilization of income earned to the detriment of the society.

To on an equal basis socially satisfy vital necessities like education, health, social security and others, independently of personal or family income

To these principles we must add: While socialism rejects petty bourgeois egalitarianism and the communism of war, it must see to it that the difference in income between the classes of workers who receive less and more pay is within reasonable limits maintained.

The optimal ideal of socialist well-being cannot be formulated in a laboratory; it will go on shaping up as the new society's production forces, culture and ideology develop.

Despite the material limitations and difficulties imposed on it by our situation as a small country lacking in many basic natural resources and struggling against underdevelopment in the midst of the economic blockade and constant threats of the Yankee imperialists, in Cuba the formulation of a new standard of well-being and its widespread establishment among the working masses is of first-order ideological importance. It forms part of the revolutionary

government's opposition to all attempts to penetrate, demoralize and ideologically corrupt the Cuban people. Fidel has on countless occasions insisted that our objective cannot be the "automobile civilization," nor a fabulous consumption of energy, nor the exacerbation in people of fictitious or mis-directed needs.

"Our country," Fidel has said, "is also progressing materially, without unconscionable ambitions which would be inconsistent with our natural and technical resources, nor with the realities of a world a large part of which is facing and will continue to face difficult problems of subsistence. Our standards of consumption do not have to be those of the industrialized capitalist societies, erected on the basis of exploitation, anarchy and economic waste with absolute disregard for moral and human values. While human beings' material needs can and must have a sensible limit, adjusted to their natural and technical resources and the elementary conservation of their biological environment, there is still, on the other hand, the unlimited field of their intellectual enrichment and the quality of their lives, which have never received any consideration in the maddening, selfish, commercial and alienating vertigo of the capitalist societies."<sup>11</sup>

#### Creative Work and Personal Integrity

In eliminating the conflict of interests between the individual and the society, the socialist way of life provides the premises for allowing a liberated labor to reassume its creative direction and gradually turn itself into a reason for joy, personal realization and identification of the individual with the collectivity. The more technical and skilled the work, the more prominent this tendency will be.

That is, socialism establishes the bases for doing away with the alienation of the worker, typical of capitalism, which is revealed in the fact that the life of the worker /begins/ when his working day /ends/. In capitalist society work alienates people from their human essence and transforms them into slaves of their machines, into the playthings of social forces before which they are impotent. Far from serving as a vehicle for the individual to give free rein to his physical and mental energies, work in the capitalist world physically and intellectually annihilates man.

It has quite rightly been said that capitalism's cultural and moral crisis is at present, among other ways, manifested in the fact that the right to consume is bought at the cost of renouncing one's right to create and that the possession of things has become the payment for one's loss of individuality.

Capitalism tries to compensate for its inability to preserve and develop the culture of the individual with powerful technical and organizational means of production and distribution. Annihilation of the individual is offset with maximal industrialization of cultural activity, the creation of more and more perfect techniques of reproduction, the publication and transmission of messages which result in the so-called /mass culture/, in reality a pseudoculture that alienates and depersonalizes both its creators and consumers, that evens out and standardizes people's intellectual lives.



For many years bourgeois ideologists have in a thousand ways reiterated the notion that our society oppresses, limits and sells people by the dozen, destroying their personalities. This is one of the favorite anticommunist cliches.

Only those who understand personality to mean those extreme cases of individualism and egotism that are in a minority can make such an assertion.

On the contrary, the socialist way of life not only liberates man from his alienated work, but also from alienation in the field of culture and his intellectual life, turning him into an active and creative subject for his own intellectual development and for the society as a whole. Under socialism culture is transformed into a public property and a powerful means for the overall, many-sided development of the human personality. We thus arrive at a new conception of wealth. The utilitarian and commercial criterion of capitalism, which turns man into an object, just one more thing, no longer prevails. Now, to put it in Marx's words: "The /wealthy/ man is the one who /has need/ of the full array of human manifestations of life...."<sup>12</sup>

As has been well noted, culture had a total and integrating meaning during the early phases of civilization. The humanist ideas developed during the childhood of capitalism conceived of the civilized person as being one who could claim as his own the classical formula: /Nothing that is human is foreign to me/. The bourgeois system, however, with its system for exploiting classes in conflict with one another and its very high degree of social division of labor, gave rise to an individual who was a mass product, one-sidedly developed, mutilated in his very essence, turned into a thing. The socialist way of life creates the necessary material, cultural and educational conditions for realizing, on a higher plane and in a spiraling movement, the total and harmonious vision of the development of the human personality, this time on the scale of the [whole] society, not within the narrow limits of a privileged elite. Marx said: "Communism is a society in which the complete return of man to himself as a social being is realized, consciously realized and while preserving all the richness of the evolution that has been achieved."<sup>14</sup>

Far from repressing or limiting creative initiative and individuality, socialism promotes those factors that permit them, in contact with the society, in communication between people, in the effort and struggle for a collective cause and its development to a higher degree.

It is precisely in this fraternal atmosphere of united and day-to-day efforts in which the economic and social premises for the full flourishing of individuality come into being, with all the opportunities they offer for working, creating, relaxing and enjoying the best cultural assets in a healthier environment, in which the entire society concerns itself with education, health and the well-being of every citizen, in which nature is protected and in which delinquency and other antisocial activities tend to diminish more and more every day.

## The Problem of the Mass Media

As an illustration of their system's /quality of life/, the imperialists often make use of the enormous expansion achieved in the industrialized countries of the capitalist world through radio, television, motion pictures, the press and the highly advanced technical standards of the media for the processing, storing and transmission of information.

But it is perhaps here where the contrast in content which both social systems can provide, using similar media and techniques, is most blatantly evident.

How are the mass communications media used in a capitalist society?

In the very words of some specialists in this field, let us say that [the capitalists] are capable of evaluating facts with a certain amount of objectivity without ceasing to be bourgeois.

According to Luis Ramiro Beltran,<sup>15</sup> through their influence and control over programs and news generated in the United States, the mass communications media promote senseless consumption of goods and services, alienation, triviality, social conformism, violence, racism, elitism and conservatism in the Latin American countries in conformity with the ideology and objectives of the investors and to the detriment of Latin American national interests and political sovereignty.

This same investigator points out that the values most frequently played up in the majority of the television programs are the ambition to make money, the use of brute force and an appeal to cunning and deception, that 100 percent of the heroes are Americans and that in 75 percent of the cases individuals from the middle class play the role of hero and in only 15 percent of them that of villain.

Other analysts of the influence of television on the American public, Frank Mankiewicz and Joel Swedlow,<sup>16</sup> say the following: "Television is not a revolution, but a cataclysm. Those born in the United States since 1945 have spent and are spending more time in front of the television set than in the classroom. They ingest images of daily life as presented on television long before learning about them from books. /Television appeals to their emotions, but it does not inspire their intelligence or their opinions./ This generation is that of the marine who said to a reporter: 'I want to kill a lot of Vietnamese and appear on television.'

"About 100 million Americans regularly watch television for 6 and a quarter hours a day. /The average school child has seen over 13,000 acts of violence on television before reaching the age of 15. Advertising agencies invested \$4.5 billion in 1975 to reach television viewers in this way./

"In 1975 a school teacher conducted a 2-year study of a vast group of children from 4 to 6 years of age. He asked them /if they preferred television to their parents. Forty-six percent of them replied affirmatively./

"The programs and commercials that accompany them on television in the United States sell not only cars and deodorants, medicines and food; /they sell values and ways of life/ essential to the manipulation of demand and production and commercial planning. This kind of publicity reaches all cultural levels in the United States, leaving no other alternative.

"How is this influence evaluated? It is calculated that a minimum of /some 85,000 acts of violence a year are committed through the impact of television programs/. Sen William Brock of Tennessee conducted an investigation in his state with juvenile court judges of the impact of violence on television. The result was that the immense majority of the judges are totally convinced that such violence has a direct effect on juvenile delinquency. Many judges supplied Senator Brock with concrete examples of crimes committed in their jurisdictions due to the influence of television.

"Dr George Gerbner, the dean of the Annenberg School of Communication of the University of Philadelphia, has been conducting a serious annual scientific investigation of violence on television in the United States and has reached the conclusion that 80 percent of the programming is saturated with violence."

Another investigator of the subject, Larry Gross, says the following: "The telecommunications media in the United States are potentially dangerous. They can transform the culture into values homogenized through a false understanding of the progress supported by material wealth. /There is something rotten that eats away at the life of anyone who enjoys its apparent benefits/ in the foundations of (American) industrial civilization. My only conclusion is that anyone who wants to protect the future of his society must prevent the flood of messages from the industrial civilization of the United States. Selective admission of its useful items is the only way to preserve an authentic culture."<sup>17</sup>

The conversion of television and mass communications media into vectors of senseless violence, crime, pornography or racism is foreign to the socialist way of life. We may say that socialism is in a position to reveal the true potential of these media as agents for the enrichment of human beings. A modest, but eloquent example is what our mass communications media can provide with their respect for the dignity of man, their understanding of the meaning entertainment should have in the new society, their edifying interpretation of humor, their support of education, health, environmental improvement, the development of the culture, socialist lawfulness, the formal and social education of the new generations and their permanent contribution of providing people with information and orientation on national and international situations.

Our mass communications media are not a business; they are part of the great school that is the whole country, where the party — first of all — the UJC [Union of Young Communists], the mass and social organizations, the government agencies, the home, the school and the worker and student collectives support and mutually complement one another in the realization of that highest goal of Cuban society: the training of the new individual.

## A New, Internationalist Individual

An especially important quality, the highest and most distinctive one from the ideological, political and moral points of view: internationalism, is inherent in the socialist way of life.

The readiness to subordinate national interests to the interests of socialism and the world revolutionary movement is part and parcel of the new society. In the internationalist spirit the purest and finest essences of Marxist-Leninism and communist principles are formed. To be an internationalist is to be ready to deprive oneself of something to aid peoples in greater need. It means going beyond the narrow horizon of national egotism and learning to think in terms of humanity, forging an attitude toward life and a radically new duty, establishing in people a scale of authentically higher moral values. And this cannot be produced spontaneously; it is the fruit of a political and ideological effort, of the actual experience a people assimilates during a revolutionary process.

The socialist way of life embodies a new position for the human being with regard to the society he lives in, the common interests of his people and the future of his country and of humanity.

In the process of gradually affirming this /way of life/ on the basis of the development of the production forces and the cultural and ideological effort, the boundaries between the physical and the intellectual efforts dissipate more and more, the intellectual life of the individual is enriched, the creative nature of his work is increased, moral standards and superior forms of behavior are secured and, as a result of all this, the image of a new society at the same time gradually emerges from it, the work of a human being who is also new and creative. It is a process of struggle in which what is revolutionary and progressive has to make its way in a stubborn fight against what is old, decrepit and obsolete, what tries to survive by clinging to habits, traditions, prejudices and distortions rooted in man's consciousness for centuries.

The socialist way of life is distinguished by its historical optimism. As Lenin rightly said: Despair is typical of classes that perish. Socialism looks to the future with the certainty of its superiority and the conviction that its cause is invincible.

For centuries the capitalist system, with its hypocritical appeals for democracy, free enterprise and human rights, has profited from certain general standards of Christian morality like "thou shalt not kill," "thou shalt not steal," "thou shalt do unto thy neighbor as thou wouldst unto thyself."

However, with every passing day we substantiate the fact that this system can only survive through the systematic violation of these supposed principles: killing millions of people, silently, through hunger and the illnesses brought on by an oppressive society or, directly, by stirring up hotbeds of violence through the intermediary of reactionary governments and forces; stealing, a crime that is part and parcel of the capitalist system of exploitation, through

the plundering of natural resources, the usurpation of territories and the draining of brains; love thy neighbor: who maintains a selfish and unreasonable attitude before the demands of the underdeveloped world and practices chauvinism, arrogance turned into an everyday political standard, discrimination and racism?

Can these principles be conceived of in a system that turns everything into merchandise, even the noblest of human sentiments?

And what kind of society is it that wants to sell us imperialism or impose it on us? What is its /way of life/?

Let one of its most well-known reviews, U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, tell us: "One of the most significant and worrisome tendencies in recent years in the United States is the emergence of a new generation of youths with problems, incapable of facing up to the pressures of growing up in a society since they feel as though they are in a world that is hostile or indifferent to them.

"Alienation and an absence of moral standards prevail among thousands of youths to a point at which their individual lives, those of their families and in some cases the communities are threatened. Never before have there been such serious disorders, especially among children and youths of the middle class, educated with all the material advantages.

"The statistics used to measure social behavior indicate the existence of such pressures:

- "a) A third of all the crimes committed in the United States are perpetrated by youths under 20 years of age. Alcoholism has increased to reach epidemic proportions. It is estimated that 15 percent of preuniversity students are practicing alcoholics.
- "b) Most adolescents share the notion that they are going through 'hard' times, much worse than those their parents went through because of the 'drug culture' and the breakups of families. Those most affected are the lower classes which see themselves up against a world closed to them and without opportunities.
- "c) Among minors from 15 to 24 years of age suicide is the third highest cause of death, after murder and accidents. The number of suicides has risen by over 100 percent during the past 10 years to reach a record figure of 2,000 a year. Attempted suicides come to a 50:1 ratio in relation to suicides."<sup>18</sup>

When we look at this part of the world which anachronistically survives, we can better understand Marx's statement to the effect that the real history of mankind will begin with the triumph of socialism.

As time goes on and man can achieve the objective of living in abundance on this beautiful planet and seeing to it that peace and brotherhood among people reign, a saner moral and material climate will be secured and the achievements

of the scientific-technical revolution will be placed in the service of mankind and not turned against it. When we look back and remember the world of today, bristling with terrible genocidal weapons and laboratories in which lethal chemical and bacteriological warfare devices are produced, this world of the most insane arms race of all time, where entire communities are leveled, as in the Middle East, and peoples live as nomads, like the Saharans, or suffer genocidal aggression and the threat of extermination by Zionist fascists backed by imperialism, like the Palestinians, where nations like Angola and Ethiopia have to sacrifice their meager resources to oppose the attacks of racists and reactionaries, where countries like Vietnam, Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba keep watch over [other nations'] arms in the expectation of being attacked and where heroic peoples like those of El Salvador and Guatemala are repressed in the cruelest of ways, we will be more and more persuaded that, while capitalism — as Marx put it — came "... into the world spouting blood and mud from all its pores....,"<sup>19</sup> it too will disappear and, when the generations that follow us study this era, they will find this society to have been even more barbarous, cruel and selfish than that of slavery and feudalism.

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CSO: 3248/448



## FAR CHIEF OF STAFF SPEAKS ON FAR CADRES DAY

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 48, 2 Dec 82 pp 56-57

[Speech by Div Gen Ulises Rosales del Toro, first deputy to the FAR minister and chief of the general staff, on the occasion of the 20th founding anniversary of the FAR cadre organs, on 13 November, place not specified]

[Text] The institutionalization of these organs has been completed over these past 20 years, and progress in the work is evident despite the difficulties and deficiencies that still exist. We cannot forget that the solidary and internationalist assistance of the fraternal Soviet people has played an important and decisive role on this since, with the help of their military specialists, we have been able to organize and implement the cadre policy and the creation of corresponding mechanisms.

The cadre organs have been able to organize and put into practice the pertinent regulations concerning military service of officers and noncommissioned officers; the evaluation system on such personnel, the application and systematization of promotions in grade of officers, and application of the system of decorations. They have developed and worked on implementation of the system of training, selection, assignment and promotion in grade of reserve officers and noncommissioned officers. They also have participated in the internationalist missions which the FAR have performed as an inevitable duty.

In conclusion, the mechanisms, the tools have been created to implement the cadre policy formulated by the First Party Congress, the commander in chief and the FAR minister.

Comrades:

The fascist policy that the leadership of the U.S. Government is now following, a policy characterized by its revanchist, genocidal and adventurous urge, has been demonstrated in recent world events: the aid to the Salvadoran Government junta, the constant arming of Israel to carry out its genocide against Lebanon and the Palestinian people, the support for South Africa on its acts of aggression against the fraternal Angolan people, the bacteriological war unleashed against Cuba, the decision to install 572 intermediate range missiles in Europe and to build the neutron bomb convincingly demonstrate what we say.

Imperialism uses many economic, technical and human resources in the undeclared war against Cuba. The work of intelligence unfolded against our country, the decision to install a radio station for diversionary work against our people, the infiltrations, sabotages, espionage work and the attempts to assassinate our leaders demand of our commanders and officers a thorough military, political and ideological training that is equated with a high combat and mobilization readiness, a strong and constant military discipline.

To this end, we have to make an in-depth evaluation of our successes, mistakes and deficiencies and to get involved on solving the problems that undermine the good performance of our work, always starting by eliminating our own deficiencies.

The cadre organs are responsible for ensuring fulfillment of the cadre policy established by the party; and for developing, creating and controlling the work of all the mechanisms which help to make adequate selection, training, assignment and promotion of each FAR officer and noncommissioned officer. Furthermore, they untiringly oversee the fulfillment and creation of the required living conditions for officers and noncommissioned officers as well as the strict compliance with the directives, orders and requirements that regulate this phase of military life.

The role of cadre organs is to teach, to educate. Man, the officer and the noncommissioned officer, is the principal object of their organizing work.

To achieve this important objective, it is necessary that the cadre organs be able to determine what is fundamental and, at the same time, to give recommendation, advise and assistance so that commanders can make decisions on fundamental matters and not get lost on secondary ones so far as cadre policy is concerned.

The cadre organ must be, tenaciously and firmly, the best assistant of commanders by teaching officers and commanders the ability to reason and make decisions with the idea of assuring compliance with the orders and decisions of the higher command; and it must make them aware that every military commander has to adapt constantly to new equipment and to new situations and has to solve problems that are almost insolvable. You must develop initiative, apply what is new, take advantage of previous experiences, be objective, humane and in each specific case keep in mind the existing conditions and the real possibilities.

It is your duty to take to the highest level the organizational function of working with the officers and noncommissioned officers; to teach by your personal example in every way, which in turn will help you, and particularly the commanders, to teach subordinates to raise their discipline and sense of responsibility.

An aspect that should always be present in your work is the task you have to do with young officers. The task of teaching, educating and developing them is a permanent one for commanders and for you.

Adequate planning to make it possible not to overburden subordinate cadre organs with projects and reports which in the end are not used or are not required at certain echelons is an inevitable task that we have to develop.

I do not want to end this speech without referring to the important role which this organ plays in the preparation of the country for war, and in the organization, training and control of the cadres of reserve officers and noncommissioned officers who complement our units of cadres and in a systematic manner are the replacements of casualties in war. Our efforts must be aimed in this direction since deficiencies still exist in this regard.

We can perform the tasks and missions that cadre organs have before them if we can learn the functional duties and the mechanisms, orders, resolutions and regulations that govern the work of cadre organs, if we make progress in our organization, if we are demanding with ourselves and only if we are aware that we must know closely the problems that exist at the grass roots and we propose specific measures for their solution.

Within the framework of this new anniversary, we urge you to characterize this new phase that is just beginning by work aimed at constantly learning the problems of our officers at their origin and to seek quick solutions to their problems, removed from bureaucratism, formalism and superficialities.

Comrades, to conclude we want to congratulate you on the 20th anniversary of the creation of cadre organs, to recognize the work you have done and to urge you to give your best--with the spirit and unselfishness that characterize the members of our FAR--to the performance of the tasks and missions assigned to this organ.

Long live the 20th anniversary of the cadre organs!

Long live the FAR minister!

Long live our commander in chief!

Fatherland or Death,  
We Shall Win!

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## INTERNATIONALIST COMBATANT AWARDS TO SOVIETS NOTED

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 48, 2 Dec 82 p 55

[Text] The Internationalist Combatant Second Class Medal has been presented to a group of Soviet military specialists who are serving in our country. The presentation was made during a solemn ceremony held in the Protocol Room of the FAR Universal Hall.

Div Gen Abelardo Colome Ibarra and Div Gen Senen Casas Regueiro, alternate members of the Politburo and first deputies to the FAR minister; and USSR Ambassador to Cuba Konstantin Katuchev attended the ceremony.

Others present included Div Gen Ulises Rosales del Toro, member of the Party Central Committee and first deputy to the FAR minister; FAR generals and officers; the chief Soviet military advisor, other Soviet military advisors and their families.

The reading of the Council of State resolution signed by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro caused deep emotion. It points out that the Internationalist Combatant Second Class Medal has been awarded to the decorated personnel "for their outstanding participation in the solidary and internationalist assistance rendered to our country, which represents a valuable contribution to the strengthening of the country's defensive capability".

Brig Gen Juan Escalona, member of the Party Central Committee and FAR vice minister for civil defense, spoke during the emotional ceremony. He said that in granting this high award to the Soviet military specialists, the government, representing all the Cuban people, shows its recognition of the services they have rendered us over the 20 years of the FAR build-up.

He emphasized that military cooperation between the USSR and Cuba is part of the multilateral assistance which the Soviet Union has been giving to Cuba since the triumph of the revolution. He added that the ceremony helps to reaffirm the bonds of friendship between our two peoples and once again it shows that relations of true brotherhood and mutual respect between a small country and a world power of the first order can develop only under socialism.

Moreover, he said the decoration expresses "the gratitude of our people for your assistance and it pays warm homage to your friendship. Wear it with the

honor of having received it from a nation that has embraced the principles of proletarian internationalism with the same passion and sense of responsibility that the Soviet people did in the past."

For his part, Maj Gen Piotr Pavlovich Fiodorov spoke on behalf of the decorated personnel. He opened his remarks expressing deep gratitude to the PCC Central Committee, to the Cuban Government, to Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, to the FAR Ministry and its Central Political Directorate for the significant medal they had just received.

He explained that the decoration took on special significance since it was awarded on the eve of various anniversaries, such as the 60th founding anniversary of the USSR, the 26th of the FAR and 24th of the triumph of the revolution.

Lastly, he said the presentation of the medal commits the representatives of Lenin's homeland to work even more to help their Cuban brothers-in-arms to develop and improve the FAR, increase their combat readiness and their capability to defend the revolutionary gains and secure the building of socialism in our country.

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## WESTERN ARMY ANTIAIRCRAFT COMPETITION HELD

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 48, 2 Dec 82 pp 29-31

[Article by Mario Rodriguez]

[Text] The Fifth Western Army Antiaircraft Competition, recently held in a motorized infantry unit of this command, provided a significant demonstration of the training and level of skill achieved by officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men in this specialized field.

During the 3 days of the event in which a high competitive spirit was prevalent, representatives of medium and large-sized motorized infantry, antiaircraft, and tank units took part, prepared to give the best accounting of themselves and to win first place in each area of competition.

The best guncrews and staffs took part in this fraternal meeting of anti-aircraft gunners. They had been chosen in elimination competitions previously held at each of the respective levels.

In evaluating the results achieved, needless to say, the competition was not easy. Each one of the participants, displaying full understanding of the matter involved and determined to win the largest number of points, was a competitor who had to be beaten in a convincing way, not only in terms of the time limits set out for each activity but also in terms of knowledge of the subject, discipline, conduct and appearance, and ability at the time of making the best decision.

Of all the subjects which the competition covered, tactical training and special tactics, maintenance of fire, observation, engineering preparations, and protection against weapons of mass destruction and the enemy army, among other matters, stood out because of their complexity and the level of demands made on the troops.

For example, in terms of special tactical training the various teams had to compete for a maximum of 500 points.

To do that it was necessary, in the first place, to accomplish the various activities set out as standards of combat training. These standards were to be tested in accordance with the standards set out in the governing rules and, in some cases, working against the clock.

In this area of special tactical training the competitors had to manually move the artillery piece or installation into position, put up the telephone cable, and establish communications.

But this was not all. So that the control commission could decide on the extent of development of habits and capacities, it was essential to demonstrate skill in the use of gasmasks in case of "chemical attack" and knowledge of military engineering in the layout of installations and command posts.

In the context of the competition the work done by the representatives of one of the motorized infantry units in setting up a small unit command post was found to be very commendable.

It was in this way and on the basis of a synchronized effort and with the well-understood objective of winning first place in this area that the members of this unit succeeded in winning the highest score, the maximum of 100 points.

To do this, the small command unit had to choose and mark out its fire position, set up the fire control table, receive data on the air situation, and demonstrate complete familiarity with standard symbols and the work with training apparatus, among other aspects.

#### A Difficult Test

For Sergeants Third Class Emilio Seguera and Jose Luis Yero this kind of activity provided one more appropriate opportunity to demonstrate the quality of the training program under way in their respective units.

It was for all these reasons that everyone agreed that the competition, in addition to judging the level of training, made it possible to bring out possible deficiencies still existing, which will undoubtedly help to improve basic training.

Sergeant Seguera said: "This competition has been very difficult for us because of the level of training of the participants. Everyone came here determined to win."

Seguera, who led his team in the competition, displayed the necessary degree of calmness at all times. In this way he achieved the greatest precision in the emplacement of the 23 mm gun and aiming it at "the objective."

Sergeant Seguera added: "This has to be one of the fundamental characteristics of anti-aircraft gunners--that is, calmness and confidence in your own abilities. Without that, as you might say, 'We are nothing.'"

For his part Sergeant Third Class Jose Luis Yero, as the chief of a 37-mm anti-aircraft gun crew, also gave us his impressions: "I consider that one of the most important aspects of the competition, beside consolidating what we have learned, was achieving a high level of cohesion in small unit activity. For in reality if our team, for example, had not operated in so

synchronized a way, I can assure you that we would not have been the winners. Certainly, there are other questions to keep in mind such as, for example, the ability to emplace and withdraw the gun and the knowledge which the soldiers have of the nomenclature, structure, and functioning of the various parts and mechanisms. That is also important."

We asked him: "And how does your team feel?"

He answered: "You can imagine. Today is like a holiday."

Sergeants Third Class Emilio Seguera and Jose Luis Yero summarize succinctly the views of each and every one of the participants in this Fifth Competition. As spectators we did not disagree with this view.

The competition achieved its objectives. That is, by increasing the cohesion and combat readiness of the units in this specialized arm, while at the same time it contributed to better training in general subjects of instruction and to improving the work habits and capacities of commanders, officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men.

Its most relevant success was in that.

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STUDY NOTES ISSUED FOR FIDEL CASTRO'S 'GRANMA' SPEECH

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 51, 23 Dec 82 pp 39-41

[Text] Theme: Speech of the commander in chief, Fidel Castro Ruz, at the military ceremony organized for the 26th anniversary of the landing of the "Granma" and the establishment of the FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces].

Objective: To make clear to the personnel concerned the ideas raised by the commander in chief, Fidel Castro Ruz, regarding the principles for the defense of our country.

Time Required:

Introduction: 5 minutes

Study Questions:

- I. History of the Militia: 30 minutes
- II. The FAR and the defense of the country: 25 minutes
- III. The policy of the Reagan administration and the international situation: 15 minutes

Review: 5 minutes

Test Questions: 10 minutes

Introduction: State the fact that, on the 26th anniversary of the landing of the "Granma" and the establishment of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, a military ceremony was held on 11 December 1982 at which the 163d Army Corps of the Territorial Militia Troops [MTT] and the seven divisions included in it received their battle flags.

I. History of the Militia

Point out that the militia has a long and beautiful history. Its establishment in 1959 was linked to the threats and acts of aggressions conducted by the United States against the Cuban revolution.

Underline the fact that, from the beginning the leaders of the revolution clearly saw the need to include the people in the defense of the revolution. In this sense the commander in chief pointed out: "From the very beginning we showed imperialism that we were ready to fight and that this was a people's revolution, for only a people's revolution can arm the people....So that this fact in itself began to define what is a true revolution."

Raise the emergence of the National Revolutionary Militia, bring out the great service it performed in cleaning up the Escambray Mountains and Playa Giron.

Make the point that, after the air attack by mercenary aircraft and the burial of those killed on 16 April 1961, the socialist character of the revolution was proclaimed. "The proclamation of the socialist revolution and of Marxism-Leninism was the result of a consequent revolutionary process, because without socialism and without Marxism-Leninism it is absolutely impossible to speak of revolution."

Explain how the concept of the militia was diluted to some extent by slowly blending it with regular and reserve troops of the FAR and, parallel to that, the promulgation of the General Military Service Law. Then present the circumstances which made necessary the reactivation of the very concept of the militia.

In this respect the leader of the revolution pointed out: "And we thought of ways to strengthen our defense, to strengthen our forces." For that reason, based on the concrete conditions applying in Cuba and the experiences of other revolutionary countries, we undertook the task of establishing the Territorial Militia, with new criteria regarding the principal missions which they have to perform. Emphasize the essential principles of the MTT: voluntarism, selectivity, mass basis, territorial identity, and having the people pay for them.

Then bring out the effort made by the party, the people's government organs, the mass organizations, and the Revolutionary Armed Forces in the organization of the MTT, incorporating a force of more than 500,000 men in the defense of the fatherland.

Point out the decisive help and assistance provided by the USSR in sending the equipment necessary to arm the Territorial Militia.

## II. The FAR and the Defense of the Country

Begin the study question by pointing out that the effort made in the establishment and training of the MTT was in addition to the enormous work undertaken by the Revolutionary Armed Forces with the regular and reserve troops.

Bring out the response by the Soviet Union to the request from Cuba to accelerate the delivery of arms planned for the 5-year plan period. Point out the statement made by the commander in chief: "Although we have received most of the weapons provided for in the 5-year plan, this does not imply a refusal on our part to receive more arms in the 5-year period if they are

needed." Make the point that we are a people who have decided to defend ourselves, that we do not underestimate imperialism but that we do not fear it, either.

Say that the FAR over the last few years have dedicated their attention to:

--The organization of the MTT.

--The training of more cadres for the regular troops.

--The assimilation of increasingly more sophisticated and more complex technical matter.

--Cuban internationalist contingents in Angola and Ethiopia.

--The various military missions which are cooperating with different countries in the world.

--Productive activities.

--Political work with the troops, including ideological and patriotic motivation of combat soldiers.

--Living conditions for members of the FAR.

Explain the devoted work of FAR personnel in carrying out the previously listed missions, emphasizing the internationalist missions. To that end use the following quote: "Our internationalist contingents are not carrying out their missions for their own pleasure or for the prestige of our country or anything else; they are performing their duty at the request of the countries where they are located and without any interest of a material kind."

Speak about the principal activity undertaken in the FAR in terms of political work with the troops and ideological and patriotic motivation:

--Political training classes for sergeants and enlisted men.

--Marxist-Leninist training for officers and noncommissioned officers.

--System of party training.

--Mass agitation activities.

In concluding this aspect, point out how, in the speech of the commander in chief, he demonstrates the spirit of criticism and self-criticism which has always characterized our revolution when he states: "I think that there is another condition which pertains to a revolutionary, and this is the condition of spending his whole life dissatisfied with what he has done and always thinking that he can do things better and that human activity can always be made more perfect." Point out that we should keep these words in mind in the course of our daily activity.

Point out briefly the importance of the Military Registry [Registro Militar] and the role for each citizen to play with regard to it.

Highlight the concept which the commander in chief, Fidel Castro, has attached to our defense: "The concept of our defense is not something which lies only in the hands of an institution. It is something which is in the hands of all of the people."

Bring out the immense effort made by the party in training the people, the state, and all institutions for defense, pointing out that: "Defense is costly but much more costly is being disarmed and undefended in the face of imperialism."

Present the following words of the commander in chief: "Our defenses are developed not only for war but to prevent war, to avoid it, to defend peace, to defend the lives of our citizens."

### III. The Policy of the Reagan Administration and the International Situation

Unmask the objectives which Reagan sought in his short trip to several countries of Latin America:

1. Trying to resolve the crisis that arose between the United States and Latin America after the war in the Malvinas. Point out that Cuba did not hesitate in providing help to Argentina--diplomatic help and political help related to this conflict--because that is a just cause of the Argentine people.

2. The evident purpose of pressing forward with plans for the isolation of Nicaragua and plans for control and domination in Central America.

Explain the response Reagan found, both in Brazil and in Colombia. Underline that it was the strangest trip possible, in a steel container, armored, surrounded by thousands of escorts and security guards, without any contact with the people. Naturally, the trip excluded Nicaragua. Nevertheless, he embraced President Magana in Costa Rica and Rios Montt in Honduras. Briefly, point out who these personalities are.

Make it clear that imperialist morals and imperialist philosophy are trying to invert reality and history. Point out that one of the biggest lies manipulated by imperialism in Central America is the attempt to impute to the Soviet Union the revolution in the area. This is a lie intended to justify imperialist intervention in Central America. Here you should make clear that Soviet relations with Nicaragua were established after the victory of the Sandinist revolution, exactly as happened in Cuba.

Then make it clear that imperialism has made a plan to destabilize and attack Nicaragua and that its acts of aggression against this fraternal country have grown since the Reagan visit to Central America, where the Yankee president had expressed his intentions to seek peace. However, in reality there is no peace in El Salvador, between Nicaragua and Honduras, in Namibia, in Angola,

in Mozambique, and in the Middle East. This is because the United States does not want peace.

Furthermore, show that in response to the demand of the peoples, to their claim for independence, liberty, and justice, imperialism has replied with massacres. "That is the answer of imperialism; that is the philosophy of imperialism regarding the people's struggle."

Add to the above how the aggressive, fascist, repressive, and power-hungry attitude of the imperialists has also found its expression in the aggravation of the present economic crisis in the world and how it has a negative impact on the underdeveloped countries. Give examples from the speech.

Make brief reference to the situation in Europe and to the Yankee intention to install medium-range missiles in that area, for the vain purpose of achieving military hegemony. Unmask the statement that the present arms race is a consequence of the attitude of the USSR and detail the efforts made by the fatherland of Lenin to preserve peace in the world.

Give a forceful answer to the schemes which the imperialists are preparing for the Cuban revolution and state the achievements of our country in terms of health, education, and the welfare of the people.

Reaffirm our position of never breaking the vital links which unite us with the first state of the workers and peasants in the world.

Review:

In concluding, stress the importance of the defense of the socialist fatherland and emphasize the need to make constant improvements in the level of combat preparation, combat and political readiness, and in the maintenance of revolutionary vigilance against the enemies of the revolution.

Test Questions:

a) Political Training

1. Tell how the first militia came into being and what was its role at Playa Giron.
2. Why did the Territorial Militia emerge?
3. What are the tasks performed by the FAR over the last few years?
4. Explain the importance of the Military Registry.
5. Why does the commander in chief call the trip of the President of the United States through some countries of Latin America the world's strangest trip?

6. What concept has the commander in chief developed regarding our defense?
7. Why does the commander in chief blame imperialism and neocolonialism for the terrible misery in which the peoples of Latin America live?

b) Marxist-Leninist Training

1. Make a brief analysis of the emergence of the first militia groups and their participation in the defense of the country.
2. Why did the MTT emerge and how have they been trained for the defense of the Cuban revolution?
3. Analyze the tasks performed by the FAR over the past few years.
4. What importance does the commander in chief attach to political work among the troops and to ideological and patriotic motivation among combat soldiers?
5. Describe the concept expressed by the commander in chief regarding our defense.
6. Unmask the objectives of the visit of the President of the United States to some countries of Latin America, which was recently undertaken.

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1. Speech of the commander in chief at Jose Marti Plaza of the Revolution on the 26th anniversary of the landing of the "Granma" and the establishment of the FAR (11 December 1982).
2. Speech of the commander in chief at the establishment of MTT units in Gramma Province in the town of Guisa on 20 January 1981 (see VERDE OLIVO, No 5, 1981).
3. Speech of the minister of the FAR, General of the Army Raul Castro, at the ceremony marking the establishment of MTT units in the town of Segundo Frente on 21 January 1981 (see VERDE OLIVO, No 5, 1981).

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CSO: 3248/462

## ISLE OF YOUTH ANTIAIRCRAFT UNIT EXERCISE NOTED

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 51, 23 Dec 82 pp 4-7

[Article by Lesmes La Rosa]

[Text] Almost before the sun rises, the day is hot...

That remark made to us by soldier Eulogio Giraud could just as well have been repeated by the other combatants of his small unit. It was the collective opinion, which also represented summary of what had happened minutes earlier.

Simply stated, the combat alert signal had shaken the camp and in brief and limited periods the personnel and their antiaircraft guns were in complete combat readiness. Firm command voices announced the presence of an enemy aircraft, giving other data of interest and necessary to shoot it down. As soon as the order "short bursts, fire" was given, the artillerymen, doing the fine work of combat craftsmanship, hit the target with the deadly rounds. This time it was a cone pulled by a plane, but it was demonstrated what would happen to an enemy aircraft if it tries to violate the sovereignty of our airspace.

These are the fruits we sowed with field training. We cannot expect anything but high combat readiness, asserted Capt Hipolito Arevalo Rogas.

We share that opinion because the training principle of teaching the troops everything necessary for war materializes in the field where classes and exercises are conducted in situations similar to real combat. That is how it is done in this small unit of the Isle of Youth Military Region.

"The important thing is that we know we need to train ourselves better and to profit from what we are taught, for the Second Party Congress has directed that combat and mobilization readiness be constantly raised and this is our principal task."

After hearing these words from Sgt 3d Class Luis Evans Powell, vanguard of this military region, we appreciated even more the recommendation that we visit this unit which has not had results or qualifications lower than "Well Done" on any aspect of the troops' daily activity.

However, field training is not the only element that helps to obtain the positive results that the combatants hold so dear and maintain.

### Inspection As a Guide

Some officers believe that the systematic inspection of combat and political training activities is one of the factors leading to the unit's successes.

In this regard, let us discuss inspection briefly, as a fundamental factor and inseparable part of the training process. Through inspection, it is possible to determine the combatants' attitude toward educational work. Systematic inspections also help commanders to evaluate the effectiveness of the instruction and methodology employed; to stress the advanced experiences of subordinates; to evaluate their own performance self-critically; and to identify the objectives of future work to eliminate the deficiencies detected.

The unit has had experiences in this regard, some of which Capt Inocencio Ramirez Dominguez explained to us:

"Experience has shown us that inspections are a guide. The inspection promotes more active work by raising responsibility in general for combat skill and performance of all duties."

[Question] How can an officer help a subordinate in an inspection?

"The help required is identified when he determines the positive and negative sides of answers given or from the work done by subordinates. He learns the subordinate's own ideas. He compares the levels of training with previous inspections and he advises the subordinate on how to eliminate difficulties. This permits progress in the training process."

[Question] What do you believe the principal practical experience gained from inspections?

"When we conduct inspections, we do not just try to make subordinates repeat what they have learned, like a recorder. Instead, the questions and tasks presented to them must be new so that they will think and reason deeply and perform the actions under somewhat more complex situation. We believe that this leads to development because the combatants show their knowledge, habits and abilities more creatively and with initiative. In that way, they submit to the inspection and, at the same time, they continue to learn and teach themselves. In other words, they raise their skill according to the combat and political training program."

After hearing what this officer had said, we recalled a solid experience that is part of Soviet military training:

"An inspection and an evaluation correctly made from the pedagogic viewpoint get the combatants used to self-inspection in training work and prepare them for the classes, the combatants show more initiative and independence when performing tasks and they consciously learn the military subjects."



## As Young As Their Island

The youth of the sergeants and soldiers of this small unit attracts attention. Some, like Sgt 3d Class Luis Evans Powell, can be considered "veterans" at age 21.

More than for being a "veteran," we decided to talk with him because he is a vanguard of the Isle of Youth Military Region and he could enlighten us on the work of the UJC [Union of Youth Communists] to help achieve and consolidate the results attained. Incidentally, the results are not limited to evaluations of "Well Done" in political and combat training tasks. That is why Evans said:

"Besides the qualifications, we have made progress on improving living conditions and on maintaining high discipline. A salient example for the latter is the conduct of the mambises [independence fighters], of the Rebel Army and, since we are artillerymen, we stress the artillerymen of Playa Giron. The UJC's work is present in all activities. The UJC, with the personal example of its members, mobilizes the youths to perform any mission."

We have capable and excellent comrades, he continued. For example, the induction training plan was completed. An explanation or clarification to the youths is never lacking on the importance of our service in the FAR, which means doing our best every day so as to be better prepared. It is an honor for us that the defense of the Isle of Youth is in the hands of youths.

[Question] What is the current focus of UJC work?

"As part of the training process, we are now learning to substitute each other on the weapon. In other words, each comrade is learning the actions that the others have to perform, in addition to knowing his own. This is very important in case of war. The UJC encourages theoretical and practical knowledge competitions in an enthusiastic atmosphere. We sergeants have received short instruction-methodology courses, and initiatives are enthusiastically taken to help reach the objective."

[Question] What do you think of the youths of this small unit?

"They can all be relied upon. We know what we are struggling for and we guarantee the fulfillment of any mission."

[Question] Why were you selected vanguard of the military region?

"I would not know how to answer you. In any case, I will tell you that the FAR have prepared me militarily and politically to tackle any situation. I am only doing my duties, putting my soul on everything I do. Many act that way and that is why there can be a large number of vanguards."

The Teachers

We know that the success of the units in their multifarious work depends on quite a few factors. Therefore, when there is talk of good results from combat and political training, the adequate training level of commanders and officers cannot be missing as a fundamental element. They are, above all, political leaders and teachers of subordinates.

It is no wonder that great pedagogic importance is attached to the military training of officers, to their complete knowledge of their specialty, to their solid tactical, firing and infantry training, and to their mastery of regulations.

This unit has been quite aware of the aforementioned. As Capt Hipolito Arevalo explains, "the qualification of our commanders and officers is raised constantly since we cannot remain behind on military subjects and we always have to respond to the exigencies of contemporary combat, according to the development of military science and of training theory and practice. Besides, combatants with higher education are increasingly arriving in the units and we have to know how to instruct and guide that youth scientifically and creatively."

What Do They Do About It?

"As officers, we continue to train ourselves technically, politically, culturally and militarily. We go deeper into principles, methods and ways of instruction and education, and we regularly conduct exercises of all sorts."

Much remains to be written about these "antiaircraft artillerymen" of the RMIJ [Isle of Youth Military Region]. Moreover, we have many possibilities of returning and talking with them, and of reporting in the press new experiences in their progress on combat and political training and defense of our airspace...

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CSO: 3248/464

## NEED TO IMPROVE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY STRESSED

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 51, 23 Dec 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Eng Manuel Sola Server]

[Text] Man's capacity for work depends directly on the conditions under which he does his work, and his work reflects on the economic efficiency of production and consistent increase of work productivity.

Occupational health and safety--a state responsibility linked to the national effort being made in the field of occupational health, education, research and organization--covers a system of legislative, socio-economic, organizational and technical measures designed to improve working conditions. so as to ensure the safety, maintenance of health and work capacity of man in the work process.

In that regard, our socialist state--aware of its responsibility and of man's role as a fundamental component of the productive forces--has been taking since the triumph of the revolution itself a number of actions to systematically improve the working conditions of our workers in all branches and areas of work for the purpose of preserving their health and preventing occupational diseases and accidents.

The revolution has raised the standard of living of the people significantly and in some areas, such as education and public health, we are at the vanguard of all countries of the so-called Third World.

However, it is obvious that despite all the resources assigned and the legislative, technical and standardization documents promulgated, occupational health and safety results still are unsatisfactory, as indicated by the accident rate levels.

According to figures of the National Occupational Safety Statistical Information System, there were 278,668 disabling injuries in work accidents over the period between 1977 and 1980, both inclusive. Following is the breakdown for each year:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of disabling injuries in work accidents</u>
1977	62,367
1978	69,731
1979	69,644
1980	76,926

It can be noted from this that disabling injuries in work accidents tended to rise gradually from 1977. In relation to that year, accidents rose 11.8 percent in 1978, 11.7 percent in 1979 and 23.3 percent in 1980; and only in 1979 was there a drop in this indicator of 0.1 percent in comparison to 1978.

From the disabling injuries in work accidents that occurred over these 4 years, 0.5 percent resulted in death of the worker, in other words, 1,438 fatal accidents.

The annual figures on this indicator are as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of fatal accidents</u>
1977	398
1978	359
1979	370
1980	311

As can be noted, these figures are extremely high, although in relation to 1977 the number of accidents dropped 9.8 percent in 1978, 7.0 percent in 1979 and 21.9 percent in 1980.

A total of 5,688,436 man-days were lost as a result of disabling injuries in work accidents that occurred during the period analyzed. A comparison between man-days lost and the annual average of workers each year shows an average number of lost days per 100 workers of 494 in 1977, 536 in 1978, dropping to 517 in 1979 and 575 in 1980.

The number of disabling injuries in work accidents and how they relate to total man-hours worked in this country annually and to the number of cases per 1,000 workers are as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Work accident injuries</u>	<u>Injuries per 1,000 workers</u>	<u>Injuries per 1 million man-hours worked</u>
1977	62,367	24.90	12.31
1978	69,731	25.60	12.52
1979	69,644	25.06	12.56
1980	76,926	28.50	14.00

The rising trend on the number of disabled per 1,000 workers as well as per 1 million man-hours worked can be seen from that table. It clearly tells us that occupational health and safety results have not been positive.

In 1981, the number of disabling injuries in work accidents dropped 3.6 percent in relation to 1980, with the number of cases reported nationally being 74,159. The number of disabling injuries per 1,000 workers exposed to the risk dropped some 7.1 percent in 1981 in relation to 1980 and the number of cases per 1 million man-hours worked dropped some 6.4 percent in comparison with the same year.

Although some accident rates dropped in 1981, the number of deaths as a result of work accidents rose 7.7 percent. In other words, there were 335 fatal accidents. This means that five deaths occurred per 1,000 injured; in other words, 1 worker out of each 221 injured in work accidents died.

Many causes are involved in so many accidents occurring in this country, with the result that occupational health and safety has not reached the required level. We know of the limitation of means and resources, but the fundamental causes of accidents do not lie there. The causes are the result of subjective problems. In this regard, our commander in chief has said:

"It is true that we have material limitation, just as it is also true that there are administrations that do not face up to these situations, negligence insensibility and lack of effort to solve many problems that affect the safety and life of the workers." The work of occupational health and safety is the duty of all and its results merely reflect what we can do together."

Exigency must be intensified at all management levels to ensure compliance with the various documents that regulate this activity: Occupational Health and Safety Law No. 13; Council of Ministers Executive Committee Decree No. 101, "General Regulation for the Occupational Health and Safety Law;" and the standards of the "System of Standards of Occupational Health and Safety" (SNPHT). To these must be added the occupational health and safety resolutions put into effect by the State Committee for Labor and Social Security and other resolutions in force on this matter.

Our FAR and the National Union of FAR Civilian Workers are planning to hold the second occupational health and safety meeting on 24 December. Its purpose is to examine, critically and self-critically the progress of this activity in our organization and to set work guidelines for the next period [presumably 1983]. The agreements and resolutions that will come from this meeting will help even more to fulfill one of the economic and social guidelines approved by the second congress of our glorious Communist Party for this 5-year period, which states:

"To fulfill the occupational health and safety measures for the purpose of guaranteeing safe and healthy conditions so as to prevent work accidents and occupational diseases."

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## WEEKLY ANALYZES NATIONAL, REGIONAL SITUATION

PA031514 San Salvador PROCESO in Spanish 17-23 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "Troubled Waters"]

[Text] Despite President Reagan's certification and the official statements that the problem created by Colonel Ochoa has been "totally resolved" and that the military situation is completely under control, the national unity government continues to show increasingly more serious contradictions that keep it paralyzed while the war deepens.

The statements of the U.S. missions that visited the country seem to suggest that the political cost of President Reagan's certification will be higher for his administration than on previous occasions. Although the certification guarantees the continuation of military aid, one can foresee that Congress will insist that at the minimum the aid levels not go beyond what the White House requested for the 1981-1982 fiscal year (\$26 million), rather than what the State Department wants, which is that they be the same as the aid effectively delivered during that period (\$61.3 million). In addition, the statements seem to suggest that there is a strong faction among the legislators that seeks to condition the aid to congressional verifications, above the presidential certifications.

The possibility of cuts to the financing of the war along with the discontent over the management of the war as shown with Ochoa's rebellion seem to be strengthening those political and military sectors that support a change in the counterinsurgency strategy and that see General Garcia as the main obstacle to this. While the efforts of the Nationalist Republican Alliance, ARENA, to force Garcia to withdraw are evident, the U.S. advisers are suggesting that the defense minister's withdrawal would make possible a change.

The change that Major d'Aubuisson proposes would seek to "quickly" and "definitely" defeat the insurgents. Nevertheless, the military actions this week seem to suggest that a quick solution of the war is almost impossible at this time. The big counteroffensive operation that the armed forces launched in Morazan, involving the three elite battalions and a total of 6,000 troops, seems to be "bogged down" on the banks of the Torola River. The fierce battles for Meanguera have shown that the insurgents have and use support weapons that give them new assault capacities. The intensification

of military actions in other areas and the permanent threat that the insurgents maintain over the traffic on the main national highways show high levels of mobility, coordination and ability to concentrate forces.

In addition, the intense sabotage against agricultural production, electricity, communications and commercial and railroad transportation shows that the costs of intensifying the war are very high. Conservative estimates place at more than 2 million colones the losses this week from the sabotage of agricultural production alone.

But if the material costs are high, the human cost is intolerable. The number of innocent victims from the crossfire has considerably increased. More than 80 deaths from political assassination have occurred in the first half of the month. Arrests and disappearances continue. The number of casualties among the combatants of both the armed forces and the FMLN suggests that if the situation continues 1983 will surpass 1982 for deaths and violence.

At the regional level, the prospects are the same. The "big pine" maneuvers, the increase in the attacks on Nicaragua by exile anti-Sandinists and the statements of State Department officials indicating that "an insurrection cannot be carried out from the outside" are increasing the already tense relations between Honduras and Nicaragua. Meanwhile, the efforts to reactivate the Central American Defense Council, CONDECA, confirm the intentions to continue to seek military solutions to the region's political and social problems.

These are troubled waters, and it can be seen that more actions are being planned, actions precisely of the kind that have contributed to muddying those waters. More wars are not the solution for either El Salvador or Central America.

CSO: 3248/489

## EVIDENCE OF 'CONTRA' ACTIVITIES ALONG BORDER REPORTED

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 15 Dec 82 pp 1, 8

[Article by Juan Gabriel Torbellino]

[Text] / Tegucigalpa-- The role of Honduras as the platform for the interventionists in the Central American conflict becomes more evident as one nears the border. A trip to the area along the Nicaraguan border shows that the multiple incursions by counter-revolutionary units into Nicaraguan territory are related to increasingly accelerated preparations within Honduras. Within this framework are the so-called "Nicaraguan refugees" and the military bases of the "contras" inserted in the Honduran political scene like a negative of a film that presents the American plan against Nicaragua.

The visitor to the city of Danli, some 100 kilometers south of the capital of Tegucigalpa cannot fail to notice a house located one block from the headquarters of the FUSEP (Honduran police) and known as "the Lodge" by the inhabitants of Danli, who seem to have a special interest in showing it to foreigners. Once within the confines of this delapidated building the spectator confronts a Dantesque scene that makes an impact on the most experienced visitor to refugee camps in Central America. The cries of the children asking for food are so loud they drown out the words of the women, who grab their last tortilla to quiet them. The penetrating smell of filth mixed with sweat indicates the lack of water is the biggest problem in the Lodge. Instead of milk the children drink a yellowish mixture of water and sugar, and in the courtyard beans are still cooked with kindling from some furniture left by the former owner.

It is noteworthy that almost all are women. "Where is your husband?" we ask.

"He is at the base."

"What base?"

"Over there past Porvenir, where they are training."

"For what?"



"So we can return to Nicaragua."

"And why did you leave your homes?"

"Because they were going to kill us if we didn't join the militia."

Repetitious, too repetitious were the replies of the women who had just arrived from the Jalapa area of the Department of Nueva Segovia in Nicaragua. They all complained of the Sandinists, but none could give a specific explanation for their flight. They had been told they had to head for Honduras. No one had seen fighting, all had heard rumors. While we were speaking with a guard who was president of the so-called Committee for the Defense of Democracy in Nicaragua, and who to our surprise expressed profound gratitude to the United States "for the good help it is giving the refugees," 12 year-old girl came up to us. We spoke to her and, feeling greater confidence in us than in the others, she told us she was from Limon and that they had taken a chance one night and come out through the mountains.

"Why did you leave?"

"We were kidnapped by the army," she said.

"By the Sandinists?" we asked.

"No. By the Honduran Army. They told us they would kill us if we didn't come with them."

At that moment a group of women came up to the speaker and pulled her away by the arm. They went to another room in the Lodge, where we heard, from afar, the reprimands of the mothers, who glanced at us with frightened looks. The child had quite innocently confided a secret to us that was taboo for the others.

#### The Highway To Nowhere

Following the directions of the refugees, we started toward where they had indicated the military bases of the "contras" were. Practically unnoticed by the guardposts of the Honduran Army on the outskirts of Danli, we headed for Las Trojes, a town 100 kilometers distant on the Nicaraguan border opposite the Jalapa area, Department of Nueva Segovia. The highway was narrow and dusty, and we resigned ourselves to a long and uncomfortable trip.

But barely 10 kilometers east of Danli the highway suddenly became wide, so wide that it seemed we were on an 8-lane superhighway. Before we had time to ask the reason for this unexpected change in the highway, we came upon a veritable army of workers, bulldozers, giant construction machines, and even an entire workers camp. They all very amiably explained that they had started on the construction of this unusual stretch of highway just

3 weeks previously but they did not know what it was for. They said they were going to finish the construction work in 2 weeks, which, given the circumstances, implied this was an extraordinary effort in comparison with the other highways in Honduras, many of which take months to repair after the rainy season. We thought about several extensions of the military airfields we had seen in Comayagua, San Pedro Sula, and other parts of the country. The construction of a landing strip a few kilometers from the border seemed to be the only logical explanation for the construction of this "highway to nowhere."

#### The Base of the "Contras"

Once again on the rocky road to Las Trojes, crossing rivers and climbing evergreen mountains, we picked up a Honduran soldier who asked us for a push. According to him, this road became the border between Honduras and Nicaragua at a certain point. As could be expected, our conversation very quickly focused on the military bases of the "contras." The young soldier, during a pause which we used to take his photograph, said he was afraid the Sandinists, who were scarcely 100 meters from where we were, would fire on us. He was, however, optimistic about the chances for success of the "contras" who were camped in Honduran territory.

"How many are there."

"Thousands of them and they are well armed."

"Do they also have advisors?"

"Yes, they have Argentine and American officers training them."

"How do you know this? Have you talked with them?"

He suddenly realized that he had told us too much and decided to keep quiet. Our search turned out to be much easier than we thought once we arrived in the small town of Las Trojes. We only had to enter a store and ask the woman, "Where are the 'contras?' We would like to speak with them." Immediately the woman turned and shouted, "Virgilio, someone is looking for you."

However, Virgilio, suddenly confronted with our reporter's equipment, became nervous and, visibly upset and told us without waiting for questions, "We don't know anything here. We are simple refugees and don't want to talk with anyone."

In view of this brusque attitude on the part of the person recommended to us as the contact with the "contras" who would help us enter one of the military bases in the area, we continued on until we met a group of Nicaraguan women who were working on the coffee harvest. And once again we asked, "Madam, can you tell us where the base of the 'contras' is?"

"Look, you go back before the bridge and take a right on the dirt road until you get to Centinela."

After a short discussion among us on the dangers of such a trip, some of us decided to take the risk. Reaching Centinela, we encountered an armed man who was very nervously blocking access to the camp, where, according to the peasants, 100 counterrevolutionaries were living and training for future action. Nervously brandishing his M16 the young former Guardsman yelled, "Get out of here."

"Could we speak to the commander?"

"There is no commander here; there is nothing here."

Faced with the threatening attitude of this man, our small group of reporters turned around to return. At this moment we heard the ringing voice of a man in a hat who looked like a rancher and who spoke in almost perfect English, "What do you want?"

When he learned about our intention was to document the struggle of the "contras," he tried to convince us that all the fighters were in Nicaragua.

"Come back in a couple of days and we will be able to take you to Jalapa," he said calmly, "or in 3 weeks when great things will happen in our country." Identifying himself as an attorney from Managua he nevertheless refused to give us any further details on the plans for action. The period of 3 weeks coincided with the completion of the work on the "highway" we had seen on the way and with many other facts we were able to pick up in Tegucigalpa.

We drove back to Danli in the dark. Under cover of night we suddenly saw groups of men at almost every kilometer along the highway, men who were surely not Honduran peasants. The strange movement of trucks showed us that the Nicaraguan border area was full of danger at night, full of preparations for action whose results are measured in corpses and the cries of the wounded.

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## SUAZO'S DAUGHTER DESCRIBES KIDNAPING EXPERIENCE.

Tegucigalpa LA TRIBUNA in Spanish 27 Dec 82 pp 6-7

[Article by Leonardo Letona]

[Excerpts] Dr Xiomara Sauzo Estrada was set free in Guatemala at 6 pm last Thursday, the 23rd, near the new building of the San Juan de Dios National Hospital, Elena Avenue, zone 1, where her abductors left her.

In that location, an urban service station wagon came up from route 4 which left her near her home where she was reunited with her family and in particular with her aunt, Rosa Sandoval de Perez, a widow; moments later the Honduran ambassador in Guatemala, Col Ruben Villanueva, appeared along with the commission that had stayed in this friendly country, taking measures through unofficial channels in order to set up the negotiations that ended with her liberation.

An hour later the president of the republic, Roberto Suazo, contacted his daughter to find out her state of health; Gen Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, chief of the armed forces, did the same thing whom Suazo Estrada thanked for all they had done towards her freedom.

At 8:30 Friday evening, Suazo Estrada and her family, accompanied by Villanueva and the Honduran commission, went to the Honduran Embassy in Guatemala where the former hostage made statements to the press.

On asking her how her abduction came about, she related that "on Tuesday, the 14th of this month, about 5 minutes to 7 am she was stopped by several armed men who came from 37th street and went down to 36 A; they got out of the car and told me to go with them, which I did; the vehicle crossed over 40th street. They rolled up the sleeve of my blouse and gave me an injection. I slept soundly and I think they took off for Santa Cecilia, since there are no police there.

When I awoke I found myself facing a young hooded man whom I asked to explain to me what was going on. He answered me saying I had been kidnapped by a revolutionary organization, that I would be treated according to the way I behaved, to which I replied there was not going to be any problem as I am a very peaceful person.

He asked me if I had any illness or physical handicap, to which I replied that being cold gave me an allergy, bronchial spasms. He asked me what medicine I was taking and I answered that it was enough just being well covered up. They got me two bedspreads.

Before giving me the sedative at the time of the kidnapping, they asked me if I were the daughter of the president of Honduras to which I responded, 'yes'."

As regards what she thought of the abduction, she said it was "good bait for kidnappers."

The kidnappers, she related, "came down to chat with me; they indoctrinated me, they spoke to me about the revolution, about Russian authors to read, printed in Cuba and they gave me a cassette tape player with classical music tapes."

Doctor Suazo Estrada described the place where she had been held captive for 9 days.

"It was a cinderblock room with a cement floor; there were some 10 steps. They came down in order to leave me food; generally, it was rice, beans, eggs, French bread, tortillas, coffee, coffee cake and I asked for sparkling water because I felt I was becoming dehydrated," she said.

She said the guerrilla command was made up of 8 to 10 men who ranged from 25 to 30 years of age and whose faces she never saw as they always kept their hoods on.

Suazo Estrada added that when they set her free she could not see their faces because they covered hers and she thanks them for the way they treated her, since at not time did they attempt to abuse her, and she also thanks God for the trial He put in her path.

Referring to her abductors, she said they have great human compassion.

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CSO: 3248/424

## BOUTERSE ON OPPOSITION, FUTURE INSTITUTIONS

Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Jan 83 p 5

[Article by Jean-Claude Buhrer, LE MONDE special envoy]

[Text] Paramaribo--During the coup attempt last March, Lieutenant Colonel Desi Bouterse had already taken shelter at Fort Zeelandia to recover his threatened power. It is here, on the edge of the Suriname River, near the Presidential Palace, that the country's current "strong man" has established his general headquarters, reconverted into an actual entrenched camp, watched night and day by a patrol.

Under the palm trees, young soldiers in olive green uniforms with machine guns in their hands are on watch. An automatic machine gun is permanently located in front of the entrance to the fort. Sand bags are heaped on the ramparts to shelter the machine guns and their servers. In the interior courtyard, a truck squarely faces arrivals. The guard room, where the rare visitors are carefully searched, one soldier is immersed in a horror story entitled "Terror," while another is attentively reading the Cuban review BOHEMIA. At the top of the stairs, Lieutenant Colonel Bouterse receives us in his office, momentarily abandoning the arms catalogue he was examining. Before opening the conversation, he takes from his desk a miniature machine gun, a lighter with which he enjoys lighting his guests' cigarettes.

"Having crushed the counterrevolution," he says, "the time has come to move more quickly and to accelerate the revolutionary process. Until 8 December, we had conducted a clam revolution without violence. But, we did not have a center to coordinate and direct political activities. Because we have allowed them too much freedom, our adversaries have taken advantage of it to try to recover lost ground. This is why the army is showing itself to be more vigilant today and intends to encourage the mobilization of the people. There will be room for all those who want to participate in the revolution; but, in the interest of the people, let the privileged classes abstain."

"We must also intensify our struggle against imperialism and the consequences of colonialism, according to the principles of non-alignment. Our economy is so dependent on the outside that some countries are using this dependency to thwart our political projects. Thus, all I would have to do is promise to reestablish the parliamentary system in order for the Netherlands to resume the aid that they have unilaterally halted. But, we no longer want to march to the beat of the drum; this must be well understood."

"How do you see the future of your country as far as institutions are concerned?"

"We are in the process of drafting a program for action, and it is only then that we will think about forming a new government. At present, everything is handled by decree and we are thinking of establishing a type of executive council to draw up the country's policy which a cabinet will be responsible for implementing. Although the people hold the power at present, we are in a transition period. We are in the process of changing a democratic model inherited from the Netherlands. We no longer want a Westminster-style system; our chief concern is to have the people participate directly in a political life which corresponds to specific conditions in Suriname."

Questioned about his presidential ambitions, the "leader of the revolution" replies, with a big smile, that "if at some point the people were to ask it of him, he would not shirk his responsibilities." When asked whether he can count on the support of the majority of the population, he recognizes: "Of course, the old parties are capable of mobilizing more people than we are, but our activists are more aware. They know why they are fighting and they are ready to fight for the revolution. Our adversaries are thinking only of their privileges; the interests of the people do not concern them. In the past, the people were organized into basically ethnic parties and every 4 years we had elections which were carnivals. These structures were a form of belief that the people cannot forget overnight. It was an institution used against the people. Therefore, we are working to give the people a better political education to enable them to see things in more concrete terms. When we began the revolution, there were only 16 of us; today there are many more."

#### The Events of 8 December

Dressed in a brown safari jacket, his forehead high and balding, his expression evasive, and his hands slicing through the air, the "leader of the revolution" has much less to say about the events of 8 December. "Our adversaries," he says in a tone which is now abrupt, "tried to destabilize the revolution by mobilizing the population against us. The unions organized strikes, students demanded university reform, the radio and newspapers shaped public opinion and even the judicial system was an accomplice by applying laws inherited from colonialism. A complete scenario had been mounted to create chaos and then mercenaries recruited by Surinamers located in the Netherlands were to come to the assistance of the conspirators who had planned to go into action on 25 December."

"Do you have proof?"

"First of all, the confessions of those arrested are the basic proof. I have spoken to some of the prisoners brought to Fort Zeelandia myself, men whom I knew very well, for everyone knows everyone here. I asked them to confess as others already had."

"How did they die?"

"They wanted to escape. You can see for yourself that there are no cells at Fort Zeelandia and for their comfort we wanted to transfer them to a larger barracks. Then they tried to get away. And, on this night the young soldiers were particularly tense...."

The Surinamers hardly seem convinced by the official version of the events and public rumor even maintains that the prisoners were tortured.

"This is due to Dutch propaganda. Besides, if the Netherlands wants to, it can send a doctor here to perform autopsies."

"Are there Cuban soldiers in Suriname?"

"To my knowledge, no Cuban soldier has ever come here. Of course, we have contacts with the ambassador and the embassy personnel; we have signed an economic, technical and cultural agreement with Cuba, but no one is to dictate our conduct."

"Why was the headquarters of the Moederbond union destroyed?"

"It was a counterrevolutionary nucleus. We know that the workers were not responsible for it, but it was a symbol and it had to be gotten rid of, even if that may seem stupid. It is a symbolic victory for the revolution and people are aware of symbols...."

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## BARBADOS PAPER DISCUSSES HORB'S ACTIVITIES

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[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, Feb 1, CANA--CARIBBEAN CONTACT, monthly organ of the Barbados-based Caribbean Conference of Churches (CCC), reported today that there was firm evidence to suggest that 15 persons, killed amid political disturbances in Suriname in December, had been executed without trial by the country's military rulers.

It also said some of the bodies of the victims, who included top trade unionist Cyril Daal and former Culture Minister Andre Kamperveen bore marks of violence.

CONTACT's editor, Guyanese Rickey Singh, travelled to Paramaribo, the Suriname capital, early last month and reported that conversations he had with relatives of the deceased and other prominent Surinamers had suggested the men were executed.

The paper, circulated throughout the English-speaking Caribbean, said it would have been difficult to prove that all 15 deceased were involved in the plot, though "plans were clearly being orchestrated both in and out of Suriname to derail Bouterse's revolutionary process."

In a centre-page feature, Singh said former deputy army commander Major Roy Horb was apparently involved in the foiled Christmas coup plot attempt against army strongman, Lieutenant-Colonel Daysi Bouterse.

Horb was among 21 persons arrested by the authorities last Sunday night in connection with what they say was a plot to liquidate the army leadership which seized power in a February 1980 coup.

Former President Dr Henk Chin-a-sen, the Moederbond Trade Union Federation, expelled U.S. diplomats Ed Donovan and Dick La Roche, and former Foreign Minister Andre Haakmat were also implicated in the conspiracy, the paper said.

"CONTACT" said the build-up for the overthrow of the military regime had started last October when Moederbond president, Cyril Daal, called a general strike to coincide with the official visit of Grenada's leftwing Prime Minister Maurice Bishop to the former Dutch colony.

It added that Daal, who was arrested and then released, had staged a rally that dwarfed another held by the military leadership for Prime Minister Bishop on October 31.

"CONTACT" also said that Bauxite Union leader Fred Derby, who was picked up on December 7 along with the 15 persons jailed, but later released, had confirmed that La Roche had telephoned to ask him if he was supporting Daal's rally and strike action, as reported in a radio announcement.

Amid the growing agitation by the Moederbond, Haakmat, one of its advisers, left for Holland where his task in the whole scheme was to mount a public campaign against growing Cuban involvement in Suriname, the paper reported.

Major Horb was reported to have gone to the United States around October for a period of rest as guest of Dr Chin-a-sen, who resides in Pennsylvania. The trip was at the former president's expense, CONTACT reported Horb as saying.

"The mystery about Horb's role was to deepen even after the tragedies of December when on January 12, Bouterse held a special meeting of all foreign ambassadors assigned to Paramaribo. He produced a letter bearing Horb's signature and sent it [as received] to the U.S. ambassador on December 31," the paper said.

The letter told Ambassador Robert Duemling that the embassies of the United States, France, Brazil, and Holland plus his home had been targeted for destruction by elements in the army under the influence of 80 Cubans.

The letter also claimed that some 100 Russian KGB agents and 350 Cuban DGI agents were to be in Suriname for the third anniversary of the army's rise to power on February 25.

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END